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# 東

# THE EAST

Vol. X. No. 5, June, 1974 $1.20

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Gokuraku-Sukhāvatī

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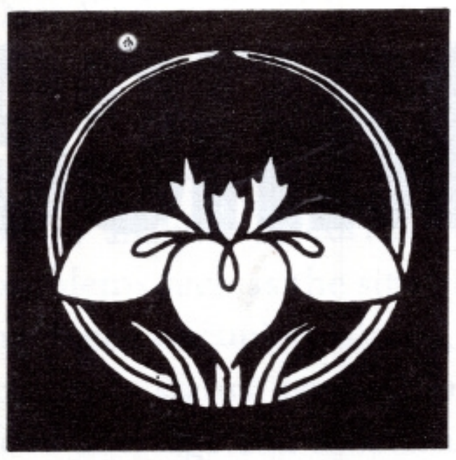
THE EAST

## COVER



It has been said that a woman whom a purple-coloured dress becomes is a beauty. To look well in a purple dress she must have a grace which overwhelms the colour.

From by-gone days the purple colour has reminded the Japanese of *kakitsubata* (a kind of iris). Young nobles in the days of the aristocracy are said to have rubbed *kakitsubata* on their dress and appreciated the uniqueness of the purple colour before they went hunting.

The purple flowers of *kakitsubata* open splendidly by the water in early summer. *Kakitsubata* petals resemble a young swallow asking for food with his wings spread.

*Kakitsubata* has long been favoured as a subject by artists because of its beautiful colour and shape. Above all Kakitsubata-byōbu (*Kakitsubata* painted on a six-fold screen) painted by the artist Ogata Kōrin is famous. This flower was also used as a subject in Nō plays and there remains a work called "*Kakitsubata*" written by Zeami, the noted Nō playwright of the Muromachi Period (1338–1573). The outline of that story is as follows:

"Yatsuhashi, Mikawa (now Aichi Prefecture) is famous for *kakitsubata*. When the flowers are in full bloom a priest wearing a purple frock meets a woman there. Being charmed by her he spends the night with her. When he awakens he finds her wearing his frock and realizes that she is the spirit of *kakitsubata*. At their parting she conveys her feelings by performing an exquisite dance."

*Kakitsubata* and *ayamé* belong to the same family. The two flowers are similar in both colour and shape, and both have been admired for their beauty. In Zeami's Nō play the following scene takes place:

"When the priest meets the woman he finds her looking so much like his wife that he is amazed and says, 'They resemble each other as *kakitsubata* and *ayamé* do!'"

Today the Japanese use the expression; "Which one is *ayamé* and which one is *kakitsubata*?" meaning, "It is too difficult to discuss which one of the two is the more beautiful."

PUBLISHER & EDITOR Morita Tohru; ART DIRECTOR Masaki Yohko; EDITORIAL LAYOUT Oshima Yutaka; ASSOCIATE EDITORS Sakai Noriko, Funazaki Takashi; SUPERVISOR of the ENGLISH RE-WRITING Dr. Jason Roussos; ENGLISH RE-WRITING Margaret Weintraub; SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER Wakabayashi Toshiko; Distributed in: U.S.A. Canada, Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia Singapore, Australia, Japan, Taipei, Wake Island, Guam, Korea, Vietnam, England, France, Netherlands. Subscriptions to THE EAST will be accepted either by the Tokyo Office or by the New York Office, P.O. Box 948, Radio City Station, New York, N.Y. 10019.
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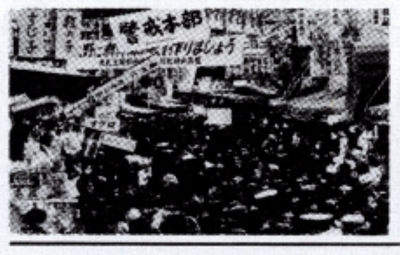

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## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sirs;

We enjoy every issue of "East" and I think your coverage is good, but I would appreciate occasional more in-depth analysis of current events and problems such as the situation over the northern occupied islands, the private car as a status symbol, or meat and food shortage and inflation.

Sincerely yours,
H. Smith
San Francisco
Calif. U.S.A.

Dear Sirs;

We enjoyed reading the East magazine. We came across it at my friend's Beauty Salon and wanted to subscribe to your magazine. We know so little of our parents' home country and we feel your "East" has broaden our understanding of Japan.

We especially enjoy the history and beginning of many customs still observed in Japan and Hawaii by the Japanese people.

Sincerely yours,
Henry T. Yamane
Anapalau St.,
Honolulu, Hawaii

### A Request to Our Readers

Because THE EAST is sent to you directly from Japan, we need to be notified of your **change of address** in plenty of time so that you won't miss a copy.

The mailmen do their best, but sometimes shipments are unavoidably delayed for as much as several weeks, and sometimes, though rarely, a package may go astray between the docks of Yokohama and Europe or San Francisco Bay.

If it should happen that you **miss an issue**, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

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10-5 Roppongi 3
Minato-ku, Tokyo
Tel: 404-1811

## INFORMATION BOX

**Q**

Dear Sirs;

I am interested in tracing the history of *institution development* i.e. development of governments, universities, religious institutions and corporate development as a process and phenomenon.

It occurred to me that the etymological background of the words *development* or *corporate development* in the ideogram context of Japanese writing might be illuminating as to the heritage of the term *corporate development*. To whom might I write to get references or a lead on the Japanese ideographic portrayal of these terms?

I enjoy reading *The EAST* and it is a treasured periodical in our family.

Thank you for any suggestion on a good lexicographer I might correspond with.

Cordially,
Robert K. Muller
Huckleberry Hill
Lincoln, Massachusetts,
U.S.A.

**A**

We advise you to contact Mr. Katō Jōken, President of Nishō-gakusha University, 6 Sanban-chō, Chiyoda-ku, Tōkyō, Japan.

Mr. Katō is a specialist in the social systems of ancient China as well as Kanji (Chinese characters).

**Q**

Dear "East";

I really enjoy your magazine very much and appreciate your excellent articles. Thank you very much. Recently I had occasion to require a simple kimono and *nagajuban*, and I desired to make it for myself. I found that there are neither patterns for dressmaking nor books nor descriptions available for the non-Japanese-reading person. Due to the fortunate fact of my residence in a center of persons of Japanese origin and descent I was able to have them made for me, but this did not satisfy my interest in traditional Japanese clothing. Have you perchance considered an article, or series of articles on such a topic? I would very much enjoy reading about the clothing of Japan, both historical and modern, including descriptions of men's and women's garb; fabrics; various designs used at different historical eras; clothing of different classes of people; court garb ancient and modern; dress of *maiko, geisha,* etc.; how to wear the kimono, how to tie the *obi*; regional differences and seasonal differences in fabric design and dress pattern and ornamentation; and so on and so forth. Perhaps articles on religious clothing such as is worn by various sects and different ranks might also be possible. If not, can you recommend any publications in English that would cover these topics?

Thank you very much,
Pauline M. Burton
S. Normandie,
Los Angeles, California,
U.S.A.

**A**

We are scheduling articles from time to time relating to Japanese clothing to be viewed from various aspects.

In the last issue, for example, we introduced the article entitled "The Changing Dress Styles of Japan."

Publications in English that deal with the topics you mentioned are not available at the present time.

### To Our Readers

In order to improve the quality of *The East*, we wish to enlarge the circulation of our periodical and to encourage the firm support of our readers.

We would be very thankful if our present subscribers recommend our periodical to their friends. If you recommend to us five subscribes or more, we would like to present to you our publication of *Her Place in the Sun* as a token of our gratitude.

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# A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

The Western people who visited Japan around the end of the Edo Period, which coincided with the latter part of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1867), played a very important role in the ending of the isolation of Japan and in introducing new cultural trends.

The Tokugawa government pursued a policy of national isolation for quite a long time. The Western people impressed the Japanese strongly. Any foreigner with blue eyes and chestnut-coloured hair always stood out as an awesome sight. Western people were called "gaijin" or "ijin". Both of those words literally mean just "foreigners" but always referred to "Western people." Western people were called thus no matter whatever nationality they were while "Eastern" people were distinguished from each other and called Koreans or Chinese according to their nationalities. The Japanese in general did not distinguish the nationalities of Western people because they looked the same and thus there was no need for distinguishing one nationality from another. Western people were, after all, those who lived far from Japan, on the opposite side of the earth. The tendency to stand in awe of *gaijin* is still observed among some Japanese people even today in the 1970's.

The further a *gaijin* goes from big cities the more firmly-rooted he finds this "Japanese viewpoint of *gaijin*." It might be in a way unfortunate for him to be always regarded as an object of awe, because he always has to appear as a "man of great knowledge" or of superior character.

Whether he is able to do so or not, he is forced to deal with problems in a confident-looking manner. If he can not deal with the problems competently or has dealt with them in a confused manner he is looked at by the Japanese with suspicion and is criticized behind his back in such severe terms as "That bloody foreigner . . . . ." Thus he will lose their trust on the spot.

Coming to think of it it must be quite a burden for him to conduct himself always as a man of great knowledge and refined taste. Is there any way that he can escape from this situation? Not necessarily no way: even if it is difficult he has only to learn to speak some Japanese for the Japanese do not believe that a *gaijin* can speak their language fluently. It would be easier for him to speak colloquial Japanese and show his skillful handling of chopsticks when he eats *udon*, (a kind of noodle). Then he would be certainly called "hen na gaijin" (a peculiar foreigner). When he speaks Japanese and uses chopsticks he seems peculiar to the Japanese for they think he behaves in a way that has deviated from his own original way of behavior. It is, however, wrong for him to feel pessimistic when he is called "hen na gaijin". He is an object of awe no longer. Instead he has come close to the unique affections and sentimental emotions of the Japanese. He then notices that the attitude of the Japanese towards him also springs from their peculiar "viewpoint of *gaijin*."

These are my impressions after reading the contribution to our magazine entitled 'My Oriental Ego Trip". Many readers of THE EAST, however, are familiar with the Japanese "viewpoint of gaijin".

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Topics

# The Fame of a Notorious Robber

ISHIKAWA Goemon, known to every Japanese, was a famous robber in the Azuchi-Yomoyama Period (1576–1600). He often appears in plays, novels and comic books. Even a child knows about his reputation. When he was arrested by *yakunin*, policemen of that time, he was sentenced to death. His punishment was very severe: he was thrown into a big cauldron filled with hot water with a fire burning under it and boiled to death. The people must have thought that Ishikawa Goemon was a most popular robber in order to devise such a special way of putting him to death. His punishment served as a warning to the public in general.

As might be expected of a famous robber, he composed a poem when he was in the boiling water and recited it in a loud voice just before he died. This poem reads as follows:

"Even if every grain of sand disappeared from the seashore
The seeds of thieves will never die."

This is, of course, a tale that oral tradition has preserved. Nevertheless this tale, probably fictitious, has enjoyed a wide reputation in all periods of Japanese history and especially in the Edo Period. One would be misinterpreting it if he thought that the people of that time praised evil deeds. They enjoyed such "wild stories" when they saw them performed at the *Kabuki*. Their popularity might have been a product of the leisure and comfort that characterised the lives of some people of that time.

In the social column of the April 17 issue of the *Tōkyō Shinbun* we read an article according to which radical Japanese youths entertain an even better opinion of Ishikawa Goemon. We read in novels that he committed every possible evil deed. According to the investigation of the Office for Maintenance of the Public Peace, remnants of the Sekigun-ha, the red army, known even abroad for a few hi-jacking affairs and for the Asamasanso incident at Karuizawa in 1972 (see THE EAST, Vol. VIII, No. 5) praised Ishikawa Goemon in their underground press with fervour. His destructive activities such as robberies and arson were consistent with his idea of robbing the rich and giving the money to the people in general.

The authorities keep an eye on the intentions of this "Goemon boom" because they fear that the remnants of the Sekigun-ha, now in prison, might be planning to attack banking organizations in order to steal money after they organize a group consisting of thieves and outlaws. These thieves or outlaws, although not communists, sympathize with Goemon's story.

The headline of this newspaper article read: "Radicals Steal Goemon's Fame."

# Train Conductors and Their Announcements

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS that conductors make over the loud speaker on national or private railway trains sound funny to Western people. You can hear a conductor announcing: "The next stop is such-and-such," or "Passengers can change trains on such-and-such a platform." These announcements are for the passengers' convenience. But it seems that the Western people who understand Japanese cannot help smiling a superior smile and think: "I know-much-better" or "Don't pay attention," when they hear the announcement 'Beware of pickpockets", "Do not leave your luggage on the rack" and "Be careful not to place yourself between automatic doors when you get off". On the other hand, those announcements are familiar to the Japanese who regard them as kind services rendered by train conductors.

In the middle of April the general traffic strike, the biggest since World War II or I should say the biggest in Japanese history, took place. The employees of both the national and

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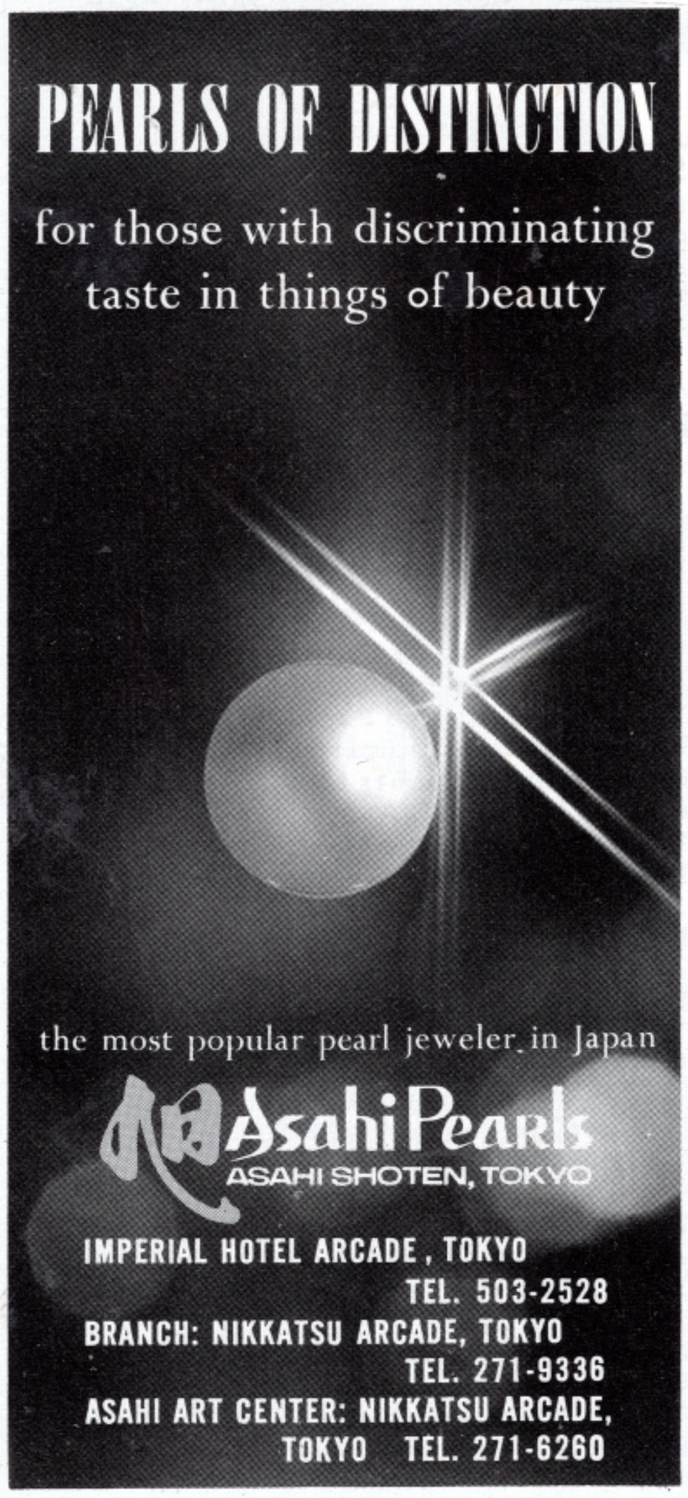


private railways received more than 20% increase in wages. It is understandable that the general traffic strike was not well spoken of because many commuters were deprived of their means of transport. Some companies mobilized buses and trucks to collect their working bees while other companies asked their employees to work on their days off.

"Shūkan-shinchō", a weekly magazine, dealt with an event on a train of the J.N.R. (Japanese National Railways) a day after the strike. The article about this event reads as follows:

"After the strike the conductors of J.N.R. chatter. They might be attempting to please passengers after they have inconvenienced them so much. A conductor produced the following announcement on a train of the Yamanote line: 'The train is getting crowded. As it's raining please sit putting your legs close to each other in case standing passengers should get their clothing dirty. I will inform you of the hour. Our time is always correct. Three seconds to 10. Two to 10. One to 10. Done.' The conductor pronounced the sound, 'Done' in the same way as the announcer on radio does."

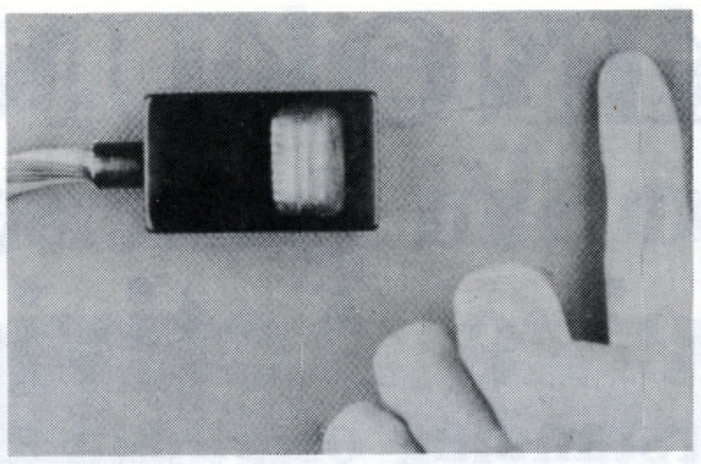
He obviously went too far. The magazine article concluded with the following sentence:

"Run your trains on schedule before doing anything else!"

# A Device for Those Who Have Difficulty in Hearing

A DEVICE WAS invented by Ifukubé Tōru, an assistant in the Laboratory of Applied Electricity of Hokkaidō University. Even those who have difficulty in hearing can "hear" a voice by simply touching this device.

The assistant noticed that the human voice consists of various combinations

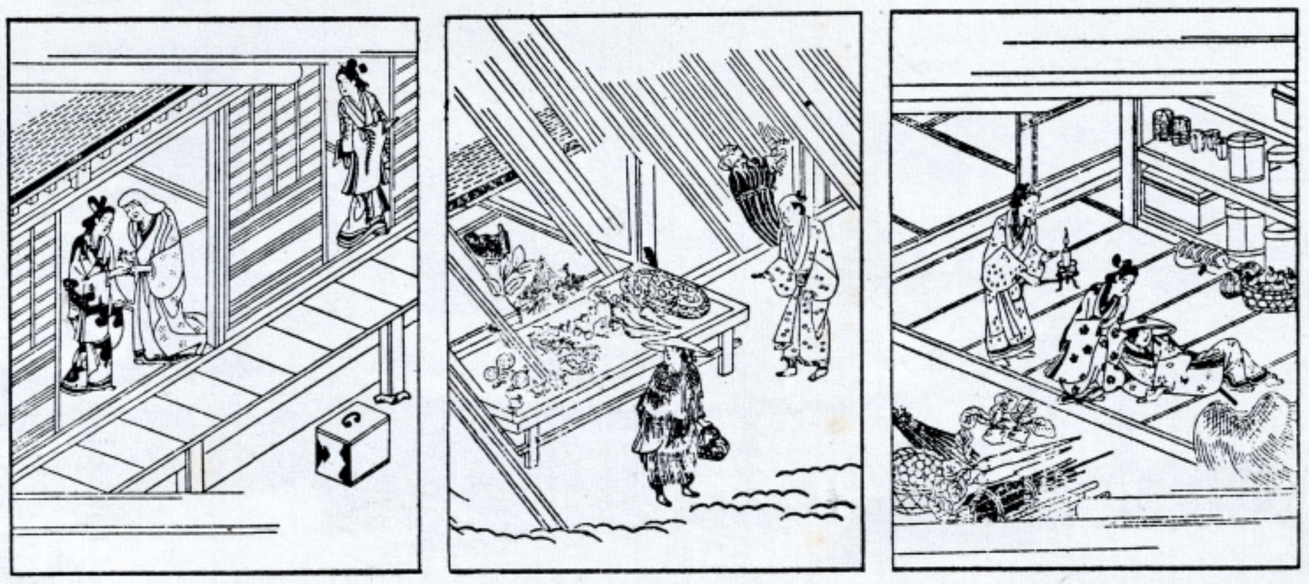


of sound waves which have different frequencies.

The device is put together so that the needle-shaped oscillator moves in a different way in accordance with each combination of sound waves. So if one touches the oscillator one can "hear a voice" in the same way as one reads braille. After 30 minutes of training even a beginner can read the oscillator although there is a little difficulty in discriminating between the sounds "nu", "ku" and "ru".

According to the assistant, if the amplifier can be made in a small size the device will be quite practical to use.

The invention of this device is good news for those who have difficulty in hearing.

*The young and protected grocer's daughter Oshichi fell in love the moment she took the splinter from the finger of the handsome samurai youth whose patrician family, like her own plebian one, had taken refuge in the temple from the fearsome fire. And then Kichisaburō visited her house in disguise and they were able to consummate their affection. But laws and society forbade their attachment. At last, driven to desperation by her overruling passion, Oshichi decided on a horrible plan. . . .*

## It's Time Their Stories Were Told

The women of Japan have often been depicted as weak, helpless feminine things fawning behind fans. But that is because no one told the true stories of how imaginative, creative women made their own sometimes very powerful place in Japanese history. Some like Kasuga no Tsuboné rose to positions where their actions could decide the future of the Shōgunate. Some like Okuni and Yosano Akiko ignored the bounds of society to forge new directions in the arts. Some rose above it all to near-beatitude like Hosokawa Gracia. Many of their stories end in tragedy, though by no means all.

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At the top of Mt. Kuno we find the Toshogu Shrine which is dedicated to Ieyasu.

When Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, died in 1616 he left the following will:

"Place my ashes on Mt. Kunō and worship me as a god." At his death the Second Shōgun, Hidetada, a son of Ieyasu, buried his father's ashes in accordance with the will on the top of Mt. Kunō, a small mountain, about 300 m. above sea-level, situated in a suburb of Shizuoka city.

In the following year a shrine to worship Ieyasu was completed on the top of the mountain. Ieyasu chose Mt. Kunō for his grave because he had spent almost a third of his long life in Sunpu (now

The steps leading to the top of Mt. Kuno. This mountain was considered strategically important by Ieyasu, the first Tokugawa Shogun.

Shizuoka city) near there and also probably because Mt. Kunō was of strategic importance. In other words, Ieyasu must have believed that if he were buried in a place of strategic importance, which was situated between Edo (the place where the Shogun resided) and Osaka (the headquarters of the anti-Tokugawa forces) his spirit would protect the Tokugawa Shōgunate from its enemies. In the same year that the shrine on Mt. Kunō was built, some of his ashes were sent to Nikkō, Tochigi Prefecture. The reason for this act is not known. (It is only known that Ieyasu left his will ordering the building of shrines dedicated to him in several places, including Nikkō). Thirty years after his death a shrine far bigger and far more gorgeous than that of Mt. Kunō was built in Nikkō. Since then many people have visited that shrine and Nikkō is now one of the most popular sightseeing places in Japan.

Mt. Kunō is not so popular and attracts less attention from tourists. But the location of Mt. Kunō, fronting on the beautiful Pacific Ocean, presents wonderful scenery, different from that of Nikkō, which is surrounded by mountains.

## Two Routes to Mt. Kunō

THERE ARE two convenient ways of getting to Mt. Kunō:

1. A 40-minute bus ride from Shimizu station on the Tōkaidō line to Nihondaira. A cable car that seats 30 people is available from Nihondaira to the top of Mt. Kunō. You do not have to climb the mountain but you do have to take a frightening 6-minute ride in a cable car.

2. A 30-minute bus ride from Shimizu or Shizuoka station on the Tōkaidō line to Kunōzan-shita, at the foot of Mt. Kunō. From there to the top you can climb 1,159 stone steps. This is quite a climbing feat but you can enjoy the changing scenery on the way for you will meet 20 curves.

## The Fortress On the Cliff

A CASTLE WAS on the top of the mountain before the shrine was built. The castle was completed by a noted lord, Takeda Shingen, in the warlike period of the 16th century.

The castle was taken over by Ieyasu after Takeda Shingen's death. Ieyasu regarded this castle as an important fortress and repaired it to make it more secure. In the 17th century a strategist named Yui Shōsetsu instigated an unsuccessful plot to overthrow the Tokugawa Shōgunate. The rebel had planned to entrench himself in the castle and to fight a war against the Shōgunate.

When the new Meiji government forces marched to Edo to conquer Edo castle in the 19th century some of the Shōgun's retainers proposed a plan according to which they would stop the government forces from marching up to Edo by dispersing the Shōgunate soldiers on Mt. Kunō. This plan also was unsuccessful.

As these examples prove, Mt. Kunō was regarded as a place strategically important.

## Tōshōgū Shrine

THE SHRINE on the top of the mountain has a bronze roof. The pillars are painted vermillion. Its pillars, transoms, doors and guard railings are decorated with richly colored carvings in a variety of designs and flowers. The transoms

and the doors, decorated with gold ornaments, shine brilliantly and are especially beautiful. This kind of beauty was favoured by the lords of the warlike ages.

The architectural style of this shrine is called "Gongen-zukuri", or "the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu style". All of the Tōshōgū shrines (Tōshōgū is the general term of the shrines dedicated to Ieyasu) are built in the same architectural style.

Near this shrine is a museum displaying articles that belonged to the Shōguns of the Tokugawa government. Among these articles are a Spanish-made table clock, a pair of spectacles and pencils (all of which belonged to Ieyasu himself and must have been regarded curious at that time.)

For about 30 years after the completion of this shrine most of the daimyō (feudal lords) visited it and worshiped the spirit of Ieyasu when they went to Edo for their alternate-year residence. After the completion of the Tōshōgū shrine at Nikkō, however, the shrine in Mt. Kunō lost much of its popularity.

A close up of strawberries. →

Kuno is famous for strawberries cultivated between stones. The girls seem to enjoy picking the berries. ↓

A restored house of the Yayoi Period
(300 B.C. – 300 A.D.) in Toro,
a suburb of Shizuoka city.

The rinds of mandarin oranges are dried for the preparation of medicines and seasonings.

Yakuza spirit still remains in Shimizu city. This is the birthplace of Jirocho, a leader of Yakuza. Happi coats showing the names of the leaders and his men.

Statures of gohyaku-rakan, the five hundred disciples of Buddha. Seiken temple, Shimizu

Photographs by Yoshida Tadao

←

According to a Japanese legend, an angel hung her celestial robe on this pine tree. Miho, Shimizu city, is famous for its beautiful pine trees.

A ridge-end tile on which the crest of the Tokugawa family. Seiken temple.

The Seiken temple which is located in Shimizu city, was under the protection of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

## Around'Mt. Kunō

THE SOUTHERN slopes of Nihondaira, the hill north of Mt. Kunō, is covered with strawberries. The strawberries are planted between stones. Thus these strawberries are cultivated by making use of the heat of the stones.

The district around Mt. Kunō has a mild climate. If you visit the district in early summer you can enjoy seeing women picking tea leaves and in autumn seeing the mandarin orange orchards. 園

# A Study of Cultural Syncretism

## The Japanization of the West

*by Katō Hidetoshi*

At the end of the Edo Period, when Western people began to visit Japan in large numbers for the first time in history, the Tokugawa Shogunate, the government of that time, took extremely strict precautions against the potential prevalence of Western customs and manners. Above all, the Shogunate kept a watchful eye on the emerging prevalence of Western clothing. The plan of the Satsuma clan to adopt Western style military uniforms might have caused the Shogunate to cast a baleful eye on those who adopted such clothing.

In 1861 the Government issued the following directive to *Ōmetsuké* —the person in charge of keeping watch on clans—: ' It is regrettable that more and more people wear peculiar *tsutsusodé* (tight-sleeved shirt) and head covering in spite of the warning already given against wearing such attire. Keep a closer eye on these people from now on.

"Crews of military ships and other large ships and trainees in the military arts are permitted to wear *tsutsusodé* only aboard ship and in training areas. The shirts must be tailored in such a way that they can be distinguished from those of foreigners.

"Leather shoes are permitted to be worn only aboard ship.

"Farmers and townsmen are permitted to wear *tsutsusodé* only when it is necessary for their work. They are permitted to wear leather shoes which have already been worn, in the snow, but are not permitted to wear shoes which are indistinguishable from those of foreigners.

"This is an order to keep a close watch on these matters."

The fact that this order was issued soon after the arrival of many foreigners in Japan indicates that quite a fw Japanese had begun to wear "peculiar *tsutsusodé* and head coverings", that is, Western style clothing.

The assassination in Kiyamachi, Kyōtō, of Sakuma Shōzan, a royalist who was familiar with military science and who knew Dutch, is thought to have taken place because he had incurred the anger of the Jōi-ha, a group which favoured

Clothing of officers of the Satsuma clan during the war of Seinan (1877).

the exclusion of foreigners from Japan. Shōzan had aroused its ire by assuming "Western style attitudes", wearing Western style clothing and employing Western-type saddles for horseback riding. In the Edo Period the attitude of the authorities towards 'Western style" clothing symbolized their low regard of "Westernization."

But the prohibition against the wearing of Western clothing did not last long. By 1867, only six years after the above-mentioned directive was issued, the Shōgunate assumed completely different attitude on this matter. In fact, in January of that year the government itself adopted a Western style uniform for its own military. Here I shall quote an exerpt from a directive issued at that time:

"*Kabuto* (helmet) and *yoroi* (suit of armor) have been used as the military uniform of this country. But times have changed. Because that uniform is neither lightweight nor convenient it is unsuitable for movement. Therefore the following orders are issued:

"(1) Re Military Uniforms: *Tsutsusodé*, *Tanfu*, *Rekishon*. Concerning this clothing, the colours are to be black or dark blue. The material used is to be wool or similar cloth. This clothing is to be worn during hours of duty but may also be worn on the street.

"*Aiin* (insignia identifying a soldier according to the section to which he is assigned) is to be affixed at the neck of *rekishon* in the same way as it is on *kajibaori* (fireman's coat).

"(2) The hood is to be made of wool. You will be advised of further regulations concerning the hood at a later date. Every soldier is ordered to change to the new uniform immediately upon receiving this order. One ryō (contemporary monetary unit) is to be paid to each soldier for the new uniform on this one occasion only. This

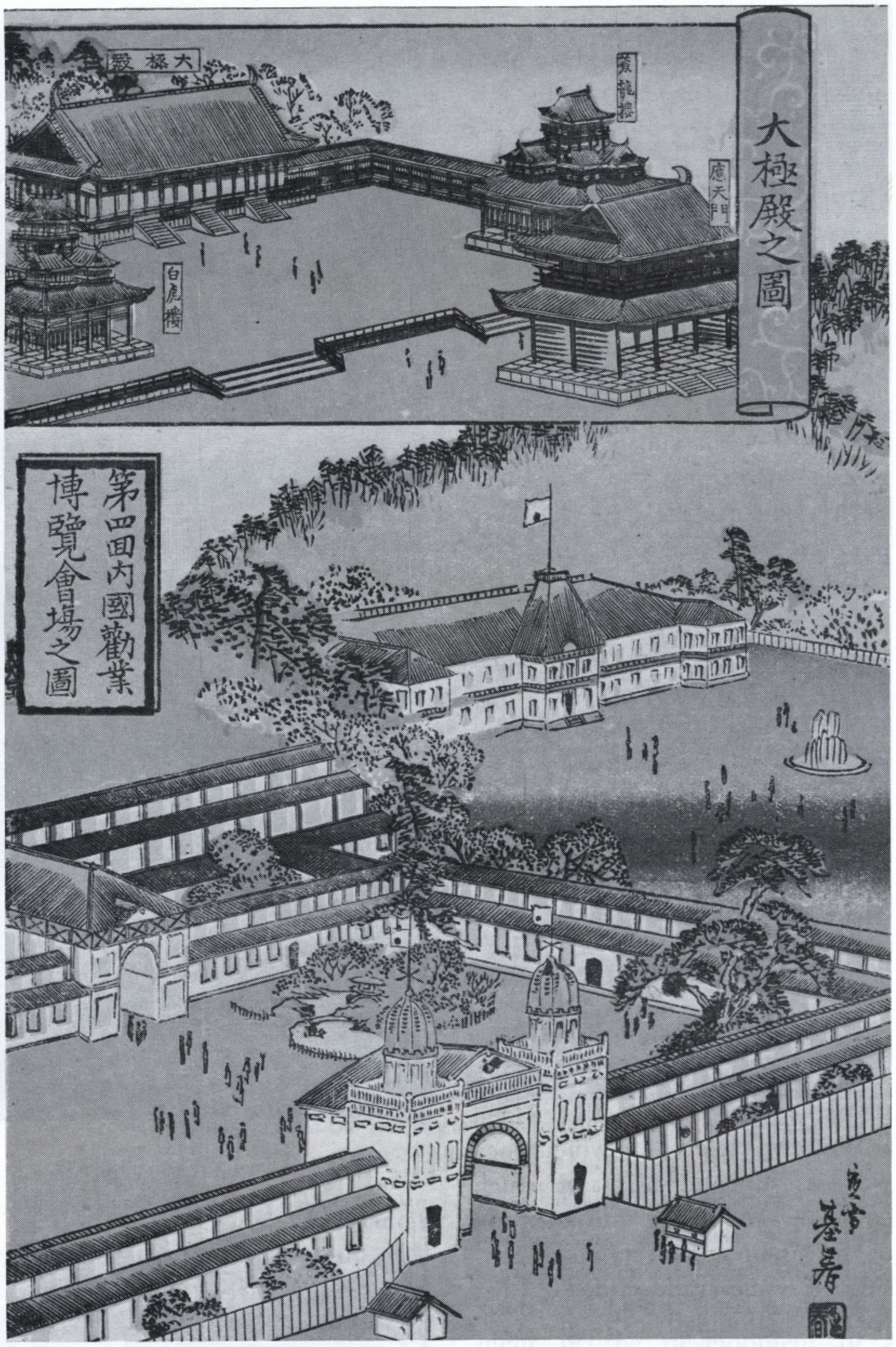
The custom of eating meat was not accepted so easily but was gradually introduced into the Japanese life. Sukiyaki, developed from traditional Japanese pot-boiled dishes and became prevalent in the Meiji Period (1868 – 1912).

money is not to be spent in a useless or extravagant manner, but is meant solely for the purpose of paying for the complete outfit that he is ordered to wear."

The Chōshū and the Satsuma clans already adopted a Western style uniform even before the Shōgunate had. It seems that out of pride the Shōgunate could not help but adopt a Western style uniform after its military fought the Chōshū clan and became aware of the active force and the power of the clan which had adopted such a uniform. Another reason for the adoption of a Western type military uniform was that Tokugawa Yoshinobu had become a Shōgunate general, succeeding Tokugawa Ieshigé.

Moreover, because Western clothing is lightweight and comfortable as well as convenient to wear, it is understandable that it was readily adopted for military use. The word *Jū-fuku* (literally, military clothing) meant Western style clothing before the word *yō-fuku* (literally, Western clothing) replaced it. When people began to accept the fact that times had changed and that the era of *yoroi* and *kabuto* had passed, the Westernization of clothing followed as a natural consequence. The ways in which the Japanese adapted these Western styles, however, were quite peculiar from a Western point of view.

For example, at the noted meeting between Saigō Takamori, the leader of the new government, and Katsu Kaishū, the representative of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, Saigō wore "Western" clothes—with the addition of *obi*, Japanese sash (See THE EAST, Vol. IX, No. 4). And when the *Kangun*, the army of the new government, marched up to Edo (now Tokyo) they proudly followed the new




An exhibition held in order to promote industry (1871). The building for this exhibition was modelled after the Imperial Palace.

Imperial flag made of brocade. The soldiers wore black Western style uniforms with *obi* around their waists and straw sandals on their feet. The officers wore *jinbaori* (Japanese battle coat) made of brocade and Western style hats with long red hair attached to them.

The data that we have about the blending of modern Japanese and Western styles of clothing is not exhaustive. But I can illustrate the blending by showing you of some of the "masterpieces" which have been conceived by the Japanese people.

Firstly, the clothes that clerks wore during the Taishō Period (1912–1926) may be considered. The traditional clothing for junior clerks was striped cotton kimono, *maedaré* (apron) and straw sandals. They added a hunting cap to this attire, and the fashion remained almost unchanged until the beginning of World War II.

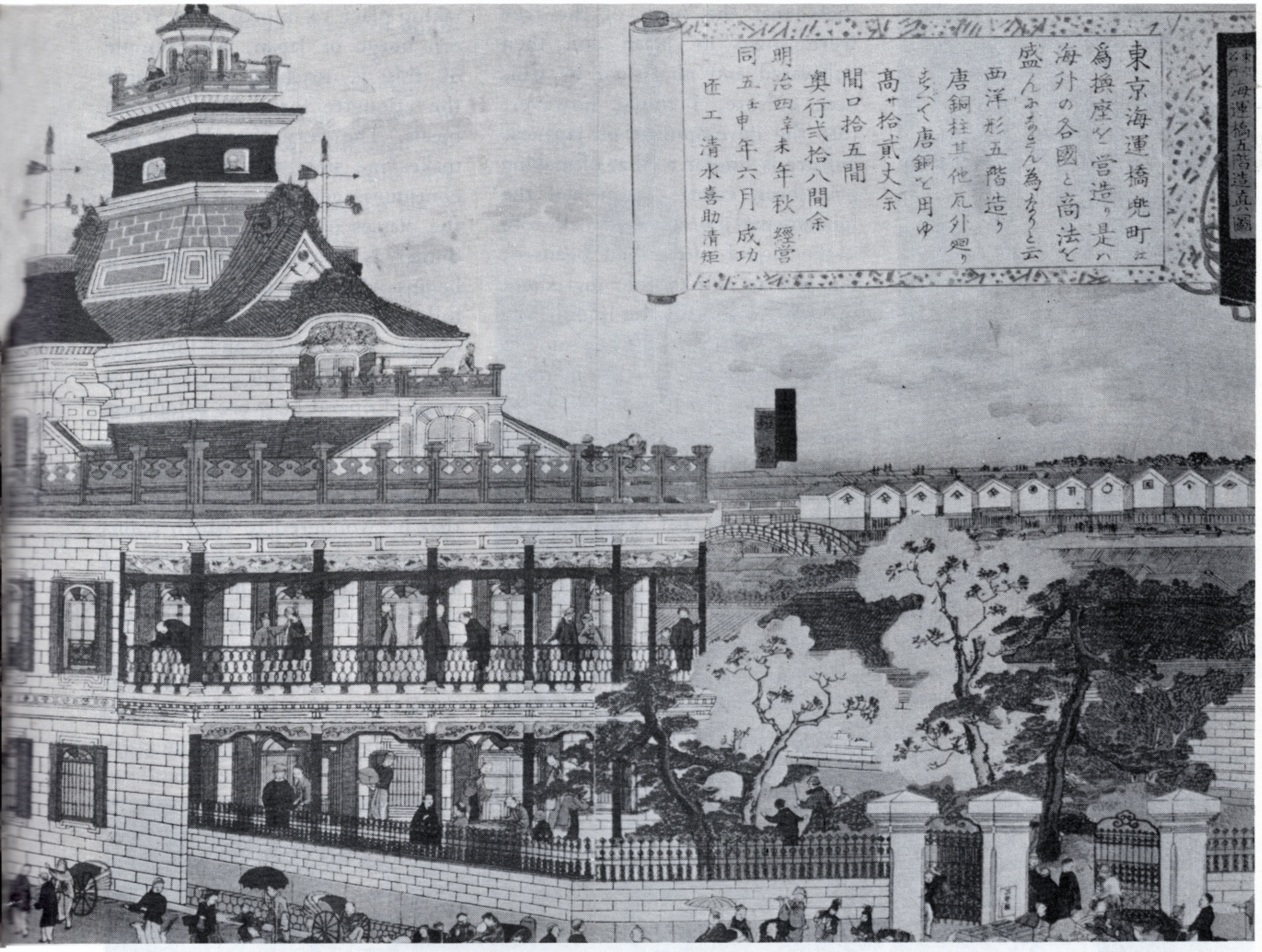
The choosing of this particular blend of Eastern and Western styles of clothing showed a great deal of wisdom. Although the junior clerks were obliged to dress uniformly in striped cotton kimono, they added a Western style shirt which they wore as an undershirt and which could be seen inside the neckband of the kimono. This style was considered to be avant garde or what we now colloquially call "groovy." One young clerk in a photograph taken at that time is shown wearing a kimono not only with a shirt but also a tie. You may smile and think that this combination is ludicrous. My opinion is, however, the such a style is a result of the efforts made by those clerks to establish a "culture" of their own.

As the soldiers and students Westernized their attire by adopting Western style uniforms, so that clerks adopted the hunting cap as a symbol of their profession. And the style took root and

flourished.

Another case of blending Japanese and Western clothing styles is the wearing of *appappa*, which is a modern version of the Japanese kimono-type garment called *yukata*. *Appappa* appeared not long after the adoption of the hunting cap by the junior clerks—in 1926—and became so popular that is "sold like hotcakes" by 1930. The Japanese women, who had been accustomed to wearing kimono, invented this East-West kimono-type garment. It is generally made of *yukata* material and is cool and comfortable and easy to put on and to take off. *Appappa* is, in fact, a *yukata* worn without *obi*. This garment, still worn today; it is now called *kantanfuku* (literally, simplified dress). Although stores which sell *kantanfuku* regard it as a Western style garment, the customer generally regards it as a developed type of *yukata*. And here I must add the fact that *appappa* has nothing to do with upper class women: instead, it is a garment meant to be worn by the wives of the poorer classes such as those living in *nagaya* (tenements). Indeed, *appappa* was adopted by these wives who belonged to a non-privileged-group in the same way as the hunting cap was adopted by the clerks, another non-privileged group.

Who are the actual designers of




Many buildings were built in Western architechtural styles in the Meiji Period.

The Meiji government often held exhibitions of Western made industrial products in order to introduce Western industrial techniques.

these clothes? The names of many of them are unknown, but I think that whoever they are they have risen to a higher level of achievement in the development of a "clothing culture" than those orthodox people who have attempted to educate the public by displaying a superficial knowledge about the West by saying "In the West they wear . . . . " or "In the overseas countries they wear . . . . " These pseudo-educators did not accomplish their purpose, while the fashions of wearing Western clothes and *geta* or wearing *appappa* have taken root and flourished in the Japanese clothing culture. I myself recognize and

Warriors wearing traditional Japanese armors and having their hair cropped (the Meiji Period, 1868 – 1912).

praise these precursors of fashion.

Naitō Konan, in his thesis entitled "What Is Japanese Culture?" wrote the following:

"Japanese scholars have interpreted the development of Japanese culture in such a way as to show that the seeds of the tree were sown in Japan and then cultivated and nourished by Chinese culture. I think, however, that the development of Japanese culture is similar to that of making *tōfu* (bean curd): Japan had the fundamental ingredient to make tōfu —the liquid of mashed beans—, but had to add another ingredient in order to solidify the liquid. The Chinese culture can be said to symbolize *nigari*, —the material that soldifies the liquid in order to make *tōfu*."

If we replaced the words "Chinese culture" with "Western culture" a great deal of the history of Japanese culture since the Meiji Period (1868–1912) can be understood clearly.

"Westernization" take place in other ways also. In fact, a strong modernization campaign has been taking place to improve the Western image of Japan. An example of this is teaching young girls the etiquette for eating Western meals. The very thought of this makes me sick. But the teaching continues, generally at hotels, in the classes of which a full course dinner is served to the girls. It begins with hors d'oeuvres and is followed by a fish course, meat course, etc. Knives and forks are placed on the table as though a surgical operation were being performed. The other day an English friend and I decided to have a look at such a class and his remark was that he wondered to which country that etiquette belonged. I answered that I did not know but that it possibly belonged to the upper class of France in the 18th century. But these young girls think that such a meal is served in

Various combinations such as that of a Western style dress, a zori (straw sandals) and a traditional hair style (chonmage) are seen. In the Meiji Period the trend of Westernization, especially in the field of dress, was very strong.

this manner in all Western countries!

There is nothing wrong, of course, in attending classes in Western etiquette, although introducing the West in this way lacks practical meaning. To put it simply, Westernization in Japan does not mean attending etiquette classes nor importing high-fashion clothes from France, but rather adapting and changing many Western cultures to blend with the Japanese culture. As we have seen, the Japanese have accomplished this in the clothing culture in designing the outfits of the junior clerks and *appappa*, and in wearing western dress with wooden clogs. So here I want to repeat once more the sentence of the notice that I quoted at the beginning because I believe that it indicates a paradoxical truth: "The shirts must be tailored so that they can be distinguished from those of foreigners." Without intentional effort on their part the Western clothes have developed into "Japanized" Western clothes, and such clothes are indeed quite distinguishable from those of foreigners. The culture of Japan is considered to be such kind of culture.

A man wearing a haori (Japanese coat) and a hakama (divided skirt — man's formal wear), wears Western style shoes. This kind of style looks unnatural but it was accepted in the Meiji Period (1868 — 1912).

It is really meaningless to compare the "Japanized" Western clothing with the Western clothing of the West by pointing out the imperfections of the former. What is important is the convenience and function of clothing as it is used in everyday life. If the clothing is suitable to Japanese daily life then they should use the Japanized Western clothing that they wear and not the direct adoption of the Western clothing of the West.

I have already mentioned the blending of Japanese and Western styles. I note, however, that nowadays the Japanese are not accepting the idea of blending the clothing styles of East and West. For an example, an Inverness overcoat to replace the kimono was devised in the first year of the Meiji Period (1868). The *appappa* appeared in the Taishō Period (1912–1926). How much effort, however, have the Japanese been putting into the blending of clothing styles since World War II?

Some Japanese are keen on introducing Western fashions as such. For example the Ivy League look was introduced in a similar way as in the classes for studying Western table manners. Have the Japanese even once, during the past twenty years, adapted any article of clothing that was useful to their own living style?

The youth born after World War II is tall and sturdily built. He has changed not only in his way of thinking but also in his living style. Actually an astonishing similarity has begun to appear between the youths living in the big cities of Japan and those living in Paris, London, and New York. Come to think of it this way, it is probably too late to acquire the old-fashioned wisdom of what we call blending. Every country might be developing a homogenous culture as a result of the mutual blending of cultures. 東

# Gokuraku...Sukhāvatī

*by Dr. Nakamura Hajime*

*The World of Paramita and Salvation— The Longing for the World Beyond*

MAN'S DESIRE to leave this world which is filled with suffering and defilement and to be reborn in the ideal land made him long for Jōdo (Sukhāvatī) which might be compared to Heaven in the West. Apparently, this desire arose from the depths of his heart and was gradually formed within the framework of the social restrictions of each period.

In most of the religions of the middle ages, re-birth in Gokuraku (Sukhāvatī) or such an ideal world as Heaven was sought because the longing for an ideal world was very strong at that time. The trend of longing for an ideal world can be observed in the early sutras of the Jōdo Buddhism. Mahāyānist Buddhists preach that there exist numerous Buddhas in ten directions and that there exist Jōdos in every one of the ten directions. For example, the Jōdo of Amida (Amītâbha) and that of Ashuku (Aksobhya) are in the West and the East respectively and the Jōdo of Miroku (Maitreya) is up in the sky.

In Christianity, on the other hand, the geographical direction of God's land is not considered a matter of special importance. The word "Heaven" is generally used to describe the ideal land of the Christians who seem to think that Heaven is far up in the sky.

The minds of the Japanese have been influenced by and subjected to Jōdo Buddhism since the early ages of the introduction of Buddhism to this country. Thus, generally speaking, we cannot have an adequate image of Japanese thought without examining carefully the influence of Jōdo Buddhism upon it. It should be emphasized, however, that Jōdo Buddhism is one among many ways that human beings invented in order to answer transcendental questions.

The fundamental sutras of the Jōdo Buddhism, the trio of sutras, are called "Jōdo Sanbu-kyō," which consists of "Daimuryōju-kyō," "Kanmuryōju-kyō" and "Amida-kyō." Incidentally, similar approaches to those in this sutra can be read in documents that belong to other, different civilisations.

Jōdo Sanbu-kyō is thought to have been originally compiled in India at the end of the Kushān dynasty in the 2nd century A.D. This was a time during which the people were subjected to chaos and insecurity both socially and mentally. In fact, the mental tension of the people was then conspicuously high. This sutra declares that the Jōdo Buddhism is preached for those who live in degenerate and corrupt ages, and state that "Buddha, the Saint of the Sakya tribe, the King of the Sakya tribe, achieved what is difficult to achieve. In this world he attained the highest possible enlightenment. In the turbidity of long time, in the turbidity of being animate, in the turbidity of prejudice, in the turbidity of life, he preached his doctrine which was difficult for the general public to believe."

The Chinese version of "Daimuryōju-kyō", "The Book of Constant Life", which is one of three sutras of "Jōdo Sunbu-kyō" mentioned above, states that "With compassionate heart I specially arrange that this sutra should remain for a hundred years."

In other words, in the world, which is filled with the five turbidities and evil, when the last day of the Law (of Buddhism) approaches, every doctrine disappears and every sutra perishes. The sutra "Daimuryōju-kyō is written for these very days.

On account of their social insecurity, when people came to believe that the last day of the Law (of Buddhism) is approaching, this sutra appeared and was written in a way that was directly influenced by the instability of contemporary social conditions. As a retribution of their belief in Muryōju Buddha and the practical observance of his doctrines, the believers in Jōdo Buddhism maintained that they could be reborn in Gokuraku-jōdo (Sukhāvatī) after death.

Some scholars who are specialists in the doctrines of Jōdo Buddhism might raise an objection to the following explanation that I am about to advance.

The savior in Jōdo Buddhism is called Amitābha [literally, a man who has and emits the immeasurable bright light (of mercy)]. Amitā means "immeasurable" or "unlimited." In China, Amitā was spelled 阿弥陀, a spelling that depended on the Sanskrit pronounciation of the word.

The land of the Amitā Buddha is called 極楽, Gokuraku (Sukhāvatī, a place where bliss exists). Sometimes it is called Anrakukoku, Rakuhō as wel as 浄土, *Jōdo*. When we translate it into current Japanese it appears as a place where happiness exists. It is said that in the direction of the west there are ten trillion "lands of Buddha" and beyond them there exists Gokuraku-jōdo. The Gokuraku-jōdo, the land of Muryōju Buddha, is depicted as a wonderful land of gorgeous description. "In the world of the place where bliss exists the animate is free from both physical and mental pain. It is filled with immeasurable cause for happiness. That world Sukhāvatī is adorned with seven terraces, with seven rows of palm-trees, and with strings of bells. It is enclosed on every side, beautiful, brilliant with the four gems, i.e. gold, silver,

beryl, and crystal. And in that world of bliss there exist lotus lakes which are decorated with seven kinds of precious stones and jewels, that is, gold, silver, sapphire, crystal, red pearl, agate and amber. The lakes are full of water which has eight special characteristics and have a shore which is so evenly smooth that even a bird can drink when standing there. The shore is covered with golden sand. In these lotus lakes there are all around the four sides four stairs, beautiful and brilliant with the four gems, i.e. gold, silver, beryl, crystal. These lotus lakes are also surrounded with jewel trees made of gold, silver, sapphire, crystal, red pearl, agate and amber. They look brilliant and beautiful. In these lotus lakes the lotus flowers as big as a wheel are in beautiful bloom. Blue lotus flowers have blue colour, blue brilliance and blue shadow. Yellow flowers have yellow colour, yellow brilliance and yellow shadow. Crimson flowers have crimson colour, crimson brilliance and crimson shadow. Various colours of flowers have various colours, various brilliances and various shadows. There in that land of Buddha the musical instruments of Heaven are always played and the land of golden colour is beautiful.

A wooden image of Kuya, the founder of Kuya nenbutsu which is a kusho-nenbutsu in a dance expressing joy.

"And there in that land of Buddha a rain of māndārava flowers falls three times during the day and three times during the night. The animate beings who are born in that world visit other worlds before breakfast to worship the ten trillion Buddhas and send the rain of flowers onto every Buddha and come back to that world for a rest at noon.

"There in that world of Buddha there are swans, snipes and peacocks. Sometimes they sing in chorus and sometimes solo. When it blows the bells on the nets ring and produce beautiful and pleasant sounds."

According to the sutra of Jōdo Buddhism, there exists Gokuraku-jōdo, which is the land of Muryōju-Buddha (the Buddha of Endless Life), in the West beyond the ten trillion "lands of Buddha." Muryōju-Buddha is in this (Gokuraku) Jōdo in the West and preaches his doctrine to save a numerous number of created human beings emitting the light of mercy from his body towards ten directions. Therefore we should always keep Muryōju-

Buddha in mind. We are saved by the mercy of this Buddha and can be reborn in Jōdo.

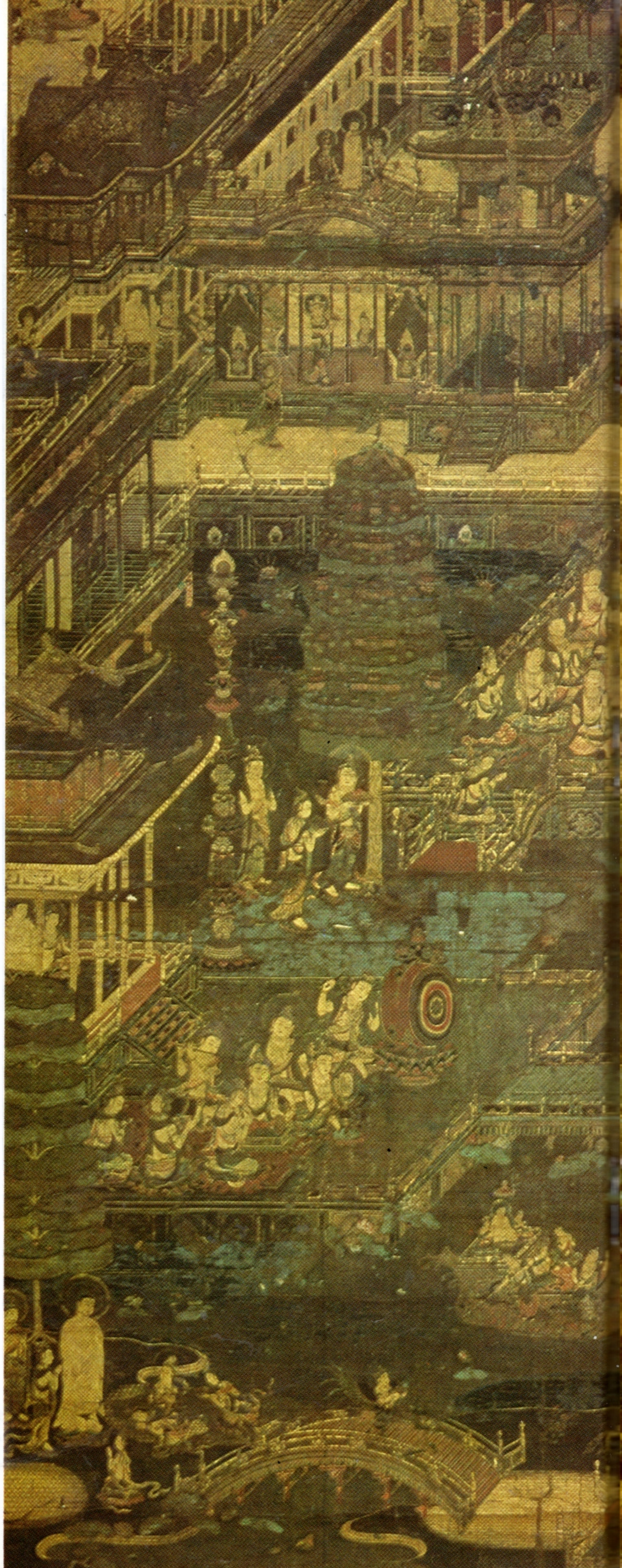
"Amida-kyō," one of the three Jōdo sutras, preaches as follows: "The animate cannot be reborn in the land of Muryōju Buddha as a retribution of a good deed of inferior quality. If righteous youths and maidens heard of this Muryōju Buddha and then thought of him in their mind and contemplated of him without disturbing their mind overnight or during two, three, four, five, six or seven nights, this Muryōju Buddha, who leads a group of the religious-minded and is surrounded by a group of disciples who listen to him preaching, would appear in front of the righteous youths and maidens when they die. They would die without losing their presence of mind (for fear of death). They would be reborn in "the land where happiness exists," that is, the land of Muryōju Buddha. Therefore I will advise that righteous youths and maidens, realizing this idea, should say a whole-hearted prayer that they want to be reborn in that land of Buddha."

According to "Daimuryōju-kyō", one of the three volumes of the Jōdo sutra, when a bhikkhu, Hōzō (Dharmākara), who later became Amīda Buddha (Amītâbha), was disciplining himself as one of the religious-minded in order to become Buddha he made forty-eight original vows. They are called "the Forty-eight Original Vows of Amida Buddha". In these vows he wished that even an ordinary man could be reborn in Gokuraku-jōdo. He swore that unless those vows were realized he would not become Buddha."

Believers in Jōdo Buddhism insist that his vow that the general public would be saved must be realized because he is now Buddha. Their belief that they could be saved by the repetition of the sacred name of Amida is based on the eighteenth vow of Amida Buddha which reads as follows: "Buddha! Imagine the animate in various worlds who think that they want to attain the highest possible enlightenment, hear of my name and repeat my name with clean and pure mind. May I not attain the highest possible enlightenment in a real sense unless I could appear surrounded and respected by disciples, in front of the animate upon their death so that they could not lose their mental balance!"

In this vow Hōzo "made a promise" with Buddha. The believers in Jōdo Buddhism claim that now that Hōzō is Buddha (Amida Buddha) this promise must be kept and realized. The conclusion drawn from the above-mentioned statement is that "the belief in Amida Buddha is needed" either for those who commit a crime to be permitted to enter the land of Buddha or for an ordinary man to be absorbed into the land of Gokuraku-jōdo.

Yakushi-Jodo-zu, a painting of Yakushi (Bhaisajya-Guru) Jodo, is a Chinese work of the 8th century A.D.
(National Museum of New Delhi, from "Sekai-no-Bijutsukan" published by Kodansha)



Jodo depicted in "Amida-kyo-Mandala".
(possession of Chion-in temple, Kyoto)

Jōdo-sanbu-kyō is considered to have been compiled in northwest India some time after the reign of King Vāsudeva in the dynasty of Kushān, that is, around 140 A.D. or a little earlier. I can state the following fact as a circumstantial evidence which is admitted by many scholars.

"Daimuryōju-kyō," one of three volumes of Jōdo-sanbu-kyō, has a very close relation with "Kegon-kyō" (the Avatamska sutra) and Kegon-kyō is definitely proven to have been compiled when cultural exchanges took place between Indian Buddhism and Khotan culture.

*Reborn to be a Man*

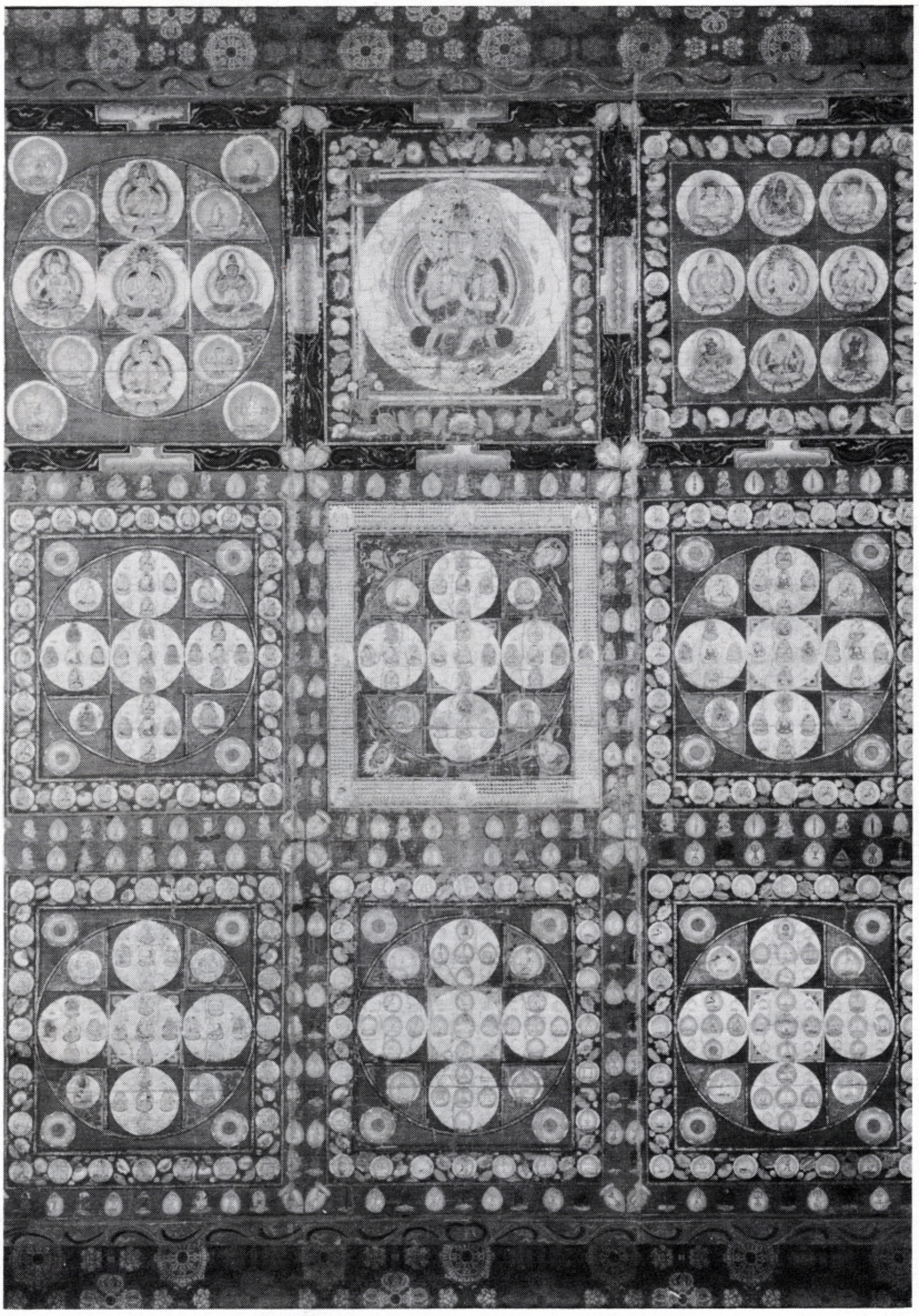
BELIEVERS IN the Mahāyānist Buddhism thought that in Gokuraku-jōdo no woman existed. Correctly speaking they believed that there were no "female human beings" but celestial nymphs (*apsaras*). According to the book of "Daimuryōju-kyō", Muryōju Buddha made a vow when he was disciplining himself in order to become Buddha that: "Buddha! Imagine that the women in an unmeasurable, uncountable, unthinkable, incomparable, unlimited number of Buddhist lands heard of my name and developed clean and pure minds and tried to attain enlightenment and became weary of being a woman. May I not attain the highest possible enlightenment in a real sense if they remained as women after death!" (from the thirty-sixth original vow).

The Chinese version of this book uses the phrase "had dislike and hatred for being a woman' instead of "became weary of being a woman" which is mentioned above.

Hōnen, the founder of the Jōdo Buddhism in Japan, called this vow "the vow for a woman in order to attain nirvana." Shinran, the founder of the Jōdo-shinshū Buddhism, called it "the vow for a woman to attain Buddhahood" or "the vow for a woman to be reborn to become a man."

Now that the disciple who made this vow became Muryōju Buddha and lives in Pure Land (Gokuraku-jōdo) this vow must be realized. Believers in Jōdo Buddhism, therefore, think that there must be no woman in Gokuraku-jōdo.

"Tenjōnanshi," the idea that a woman is reborn to be a man after death, is preached in various Buddhist sutras. Some believers in Buddhism in its early days assumed a critical and adverse attitude towards this idea for it was contempuous of women. On the other hand, we can observe in the various Buddhist books that most believers in Buddhism compromised and adapted themselves to the idea easily.



A number of Buddhas. This kind of picture is called Mandala.

## *The Repetition of the Sacred Name of Amida*

In MAHĀYĀNIST Buddhism, especially in the Jōdo Buddhism, the absolutely devout belief in Buddha was emphasized. The devout belief in and adoration for the absolute being naturally led the believers to establish the religious ritual, that is, the repetition of the name of the absolute being. In the East the practice of nenbutsu is important. The absolutely devout belief of the Japanese in Amida Buddha is expressed in the repetition of the words "namu-Amida-butsu" which means "to respect and adore Amida Buddha."

In India, the practice of nenbutsu meant to visualize or imgine the sacred features of Buddha and "nenzuru" meant to imagine and keep an object in mind and purify one's mind by assimilating onself into the object. In Japan, especially in the Jōdo Buddhism, the repetition of the name of (Amida) Buddha was emphasized. In other words, emphasis was placed on the repetition of the words "namu-Amida-butsu." The Jōdo Buddhism from the beginning has favoured the idea of adoring the name of Amida Buddha.

According to the original sutras of the Jōdo Buddhism, the practice of keeping the name of Amida Buddha in mind and "nenzuru"-ing the name was emphasized. In other words, the practice of nenbutsu originally meant meditation or contemplation that took place in one's mind. But the Zendo of China interpreted that practice as the repetition of the name of Buddha only. Ever since then, this interpretation has been generalized and consequently nenbutsu has come to mean the repetition of "namu-Amida-butsu" which is called kushō-nenbutsu (oral nenbutsu).

The idea was very strange and difficult for the classical Greeks to understand. According to the book of "the Questions of King Milinda", the Greek King Milinda (Menandros) asked: "Why can one be saved through nenbutsu?" Nāgasena, the Indian Buddhist Elder, answered, "Suppose you threw a stone into water. What would happen? The stone surely would sink. It is natural. Therefore we, the animate with many sins, cannot help sinking. Imagine, however, that you put the stone on a big boat. It does not sink and is carried to a destination aboard the boat. The salvation through nenbutsu can be explained in this way."

A wooden stature of Shinran, the founder of Jodoshinshu Buddhism.

Honen, the founder of Jodo Buddhism.

Some of the believers in Jōdo Buddhism placed too much emphasis on the repetition of the prayer "namu-Amida-butsu" and came to think that the more times they repeated it, the more virtue they would attain. Therefore the fiction was made up that Hōnen, the founder of the Jōdo Buddhism in Japan, repeated "namu-Amida-butsu" a million times.

Hōnen's opinion about this matter can be seen in the following conversation: When he was asked the following question: "It is said that if you repeated 'namu-Amida-butsu' a million times you surely could die a peaceful death and be reborn in Gokuraku. But life is too short to repeat it a million times. How could you do it?" Hōnen answered, "This statement shows prejudice. You can be reborn in Gokuraku even if you repeat it a hundred times or ten times or even just one time." He wanted to say that after all it was sincerity that was important.

Shinran, the founder of the Jōdo-shinshū Buddhism, had the viewpoint on this matter that both the belief in Amida Buddha and the Kushō-nenbutsu are necessary and stated that "Even if you had the belief, it would be wasted unless you repeated the name of Amida Buddha. On the other hand, even if you repeated the name of Amida Buddha, it would be difficult for you to die a peaceful death and be reborn in Gokuraku if your belief in Amida Buddha was shallow. Therefore, if you had profound belief in Amida Buddha and repeated his name you undoubtedly could die a peaceful death and be reborn in Gokuraku." But Shinran had no intention of distinguishing belief and kushō-nenbutsu. He also stated: "The belief with a determined soul and the practice [of the Kusho-nenbutsu] with a determined soul are two different matters. But there exists no practice without belief and no belief without practice." 東

# The Japanese and Their Customs
# Haragei

THE JAPANESE have a curious word, *haragei*. Literally interpreted it means "trick performed on the abdomen by a man lying on his back" or "trick of moving an abdomen which has a face painted on it by using the abdominal muscle." Here, however, I would like to introduce another meaning of the word, much more profound and abstract. That is "intellectual mode of conveying one's intentions without depending on either words or actions."

If you appreciate Kabuki performances you surely notice that on the occasion when two characters meet to deal with a matter of importance they reach an agreement before they talk to each other. One says, "Well, . . . . . " The other nods, "Yes, . . . . . " The former replies: "It would be . . . . . " Thus both of them understand each other before exchanging any real words. The actions performed in the above-mentioned Kabuki scene are called *omoi-ire* (action in which a character conveys a certain intention without speaking any words.) *Omoi-ire*, which demands from the actors very skilful and tasteful action is an aspect of *haragei*.

The Japanese often communicate more without speaking; for communication they depend on eyes more than on their mouths. These kinds of peculiar ways of communication can be observed not only in the world of *Kabuki* but also in various situations in everyday life.

For example, when a contract is made its signing is obviously necessary in the West. Among the Japanese, on the other hand, even an important contract is often made in such a peculiar manner that it reminds us of the *omoi-ire* of *Kanuki* performances. And, in general, such contracts are successful because the Japanese have a deeply rooted idea that it is a great shame to change one's words.

The word *haragei* can also be interpreted as "the mode in which someone deals with something from his experiences with courage by transcending form or logic."

Among the Japanese those who can use *haragei* are considered broad-minded and great characters. There still exist "men of haragei" in the political and business worlds of Japan. A man of *haragei* places more emphasis on something spiritual than something material.

Illustrated by Yutenji Saburo.

Therefore if his attitude indicates a favourable answer he will do his best so that all goes well. If you went further in order to ascertain his intention he would get angry.

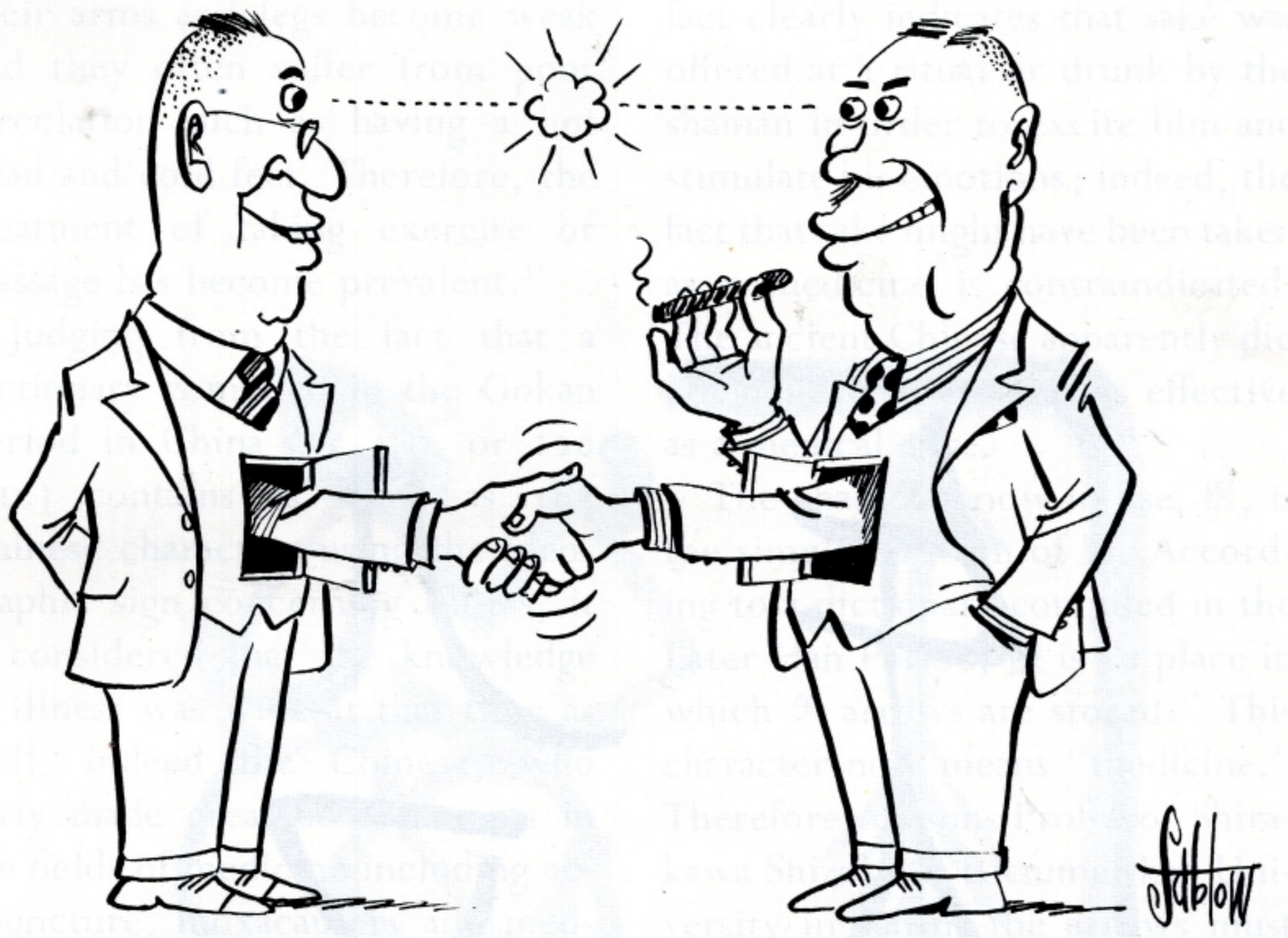
I will quote a story which will help you to understand *haragei* more clearly. A Japanese man lived for 20 years in the U.S. and acquired U.S. citizenship. He lived an American style of life and became used to it. He retired from his post as manger of a branch office of a Japanese firm in the U.S. He not did have any intention of returning to Japan and was going to find another job in the U.S. Then he happened to meet a president of a Japanese company. The president was planning to establish a branch office in the U.S. and the post of the manager of the branch was offered to that man. The working conditions offered were more favourable than those of his previous office.

He hesitated to give an immediate answer and asked the president for a day in order to think of the matter more carefully. He then proceeded to type a document on which the working conditions were mentioned.

On the following day he gave this document to the president and asked him to sign it as a contract. The president was a man of *haragei*. He was a man who signed or affixed his seal just for the sake of form. When he looked at the paper he got angry and said; "Can't you believe what I, the president of the company, say?"

The Japanese in general, who are accustomed to placing more emphasis on what is said than what is written, would have believed the president's words and would not have gone even further than the manager did. The manager, however, was accumstomed to the American customs. He did not imply that he did not trust the president words. He just wanted to make a contract with the company and also make the contract official. He is considered to have been Americanized to such an extent that he did not take notice of *haragei*.

In order for two people to communicate by means of *haragei* there must exist between them an implicit understanding that "You don't have to go so far as to say . . . . . " The Japanese believe that it is not refined to express something to the very end and that it is refined to express it in such a suggestive manner as to leave an aftertaste with your interlocutor.



This tendency can be observed not only in society but also between a man and a woman or a husband and his wife. A Japanese man seldom, if ever, says to his wife or sweetheart, "I love you." It does not mean that he does not love her. He thinks that it is obvious that he loves her and that she knows it even if he does not tell her so.

Such a way of thinking is not called *haragei* but it might belong to *haragei* for it "deals with something from one's experience with courage by transcending form or logic." The Japanese woman have been accumstomed to men's *haragei* and do not complain about it. There is, however, the expression, "Since World War II women and stockings (Nylon was then invented) have become strong." As this expression indicates there is a trend nowadays among Japanese women of expressing their opinions freely and of adopting an unfavourable attitude towards the *haragei* of men. The Japanese woman have begun to ask their sweethearts or husbands for love expressed with concrete words, as the manager of company asked the president for his signature.

The unfavourable attitude towards *haragei* can be observed not only among women. It is true that lately *haragei* has been outmoded by the relationalism introduced to Japan after the war. Something practical and visible is sought after more than something suggestive. *Haragei*, peculiar to the Japanese, seems to be falling out of fashion.

# Chinese Medical Doctors and Shamans

In ancient times the Chinese, as well as many peoples of other countries, believed that sickness was caused by an evil spirit living in one's body. Therefore, when the people fell ill they sent for a shaman, or witch doctor, who would cure the illness by using magic to oust the malevolent influence of the evil spirit.

Besides the shamans, there also appeared in ancient times physicians who had a real knowledge of medicine. According to the Chinese history book "Shiki," a physician named Henjaku was already advising as early as the 7th or 8th century B.C. that the magic invoked by the shamans be separated from the practice of medicine. He criticised the shamans and insisted that the practice of curing people by the use of medicine should replace the invoking of magic charms to cure the sick. The book attributes to the physician Henjaku the knowledge of outstanding techniques concern-

ing the curing of children's diseases and mental disorders. It is regrettable that no details about these techniques are mentioned in the book.

"Shurai," a book about the organisation of the government of the Shū Period in China (1100 B.C. to 256 B.C.) imparts the information that physicians and veterinarians were able to cure diseases of the eyes, nose, mouth and ears. It also states that physicians had the knowledge that they could hear and check people's heartbeat by taking their pulse.

The government of that time collected statistics of the annual performance of each physician and decided the amount of the stipend to be given to him in accordance with the quality of his performance. It was mandatory that when a person died, a legal death certificate be issued and examined by a physician.

A medical book which is thought to have been written about 200 A.D. contains the following information:

"The eastern part of China is situated near the sea. Because the people who live in this area eat much fish and salty foods they often suffer from boils and tumors. Therefore, the surgical method of using sharp stone implements has developed.

"The western part of China is mountainous and the climate is very changeable. People living in this area wear blankets instead of clothing. Because they subsist on rich foods they become obese and often suffer from diseases of the internal organs. Therefore, the treatment of using medical decoctions has developed.

"The northern part of China is an area of highlands ruled by severely cold weather. Because the people living in this region are nomadic they often suffer from having their stomachs distended. Therefore, the moxacautery treatment has developed.

"The southern region of China is an area of plains, and it is very hot and humid. Because people living in this area eat the innards of animals and acid foods they often suffer from an interruption in blood circulation and develop cramps or even paralysis in the arms or legs. Therefore, the acupuncture treatment is employed.

"The central part of China is the region of plains and it is often very humid. Because the people who live in this region eat various kinds of foods but take little exercise their arms and legs become weak and they often suffer from poor circulation such as having a hot head and cold feet. Therefore, the treatment of taking exercise or massage has become prevalent."

Judging from the fact that a dictionary compiled in the Gokan Period in China (25 A.D. or 220 A.D.) contains as many as 104 Chinese characters using the ideographic sign concerning illness, it is considered that the knowledge of illness was wide at that time as well. Indeed the Chinese, who early made great achievements in the fields of medicine including acupuncture, moxacautery and medical substances (especially medical herbs), kept an individual tradition of their own. This tradition is considered to be the result of all the effort that the Chinese have put forth in the medical field ever since the Shū Period.

The Chinese character 医 means physician, doctor of medicine. The process which was used to form this character indicates that it was the shaman, or witch doctor, who was the medical doctor of ancient times. The proper form of 医 is 醫. The older form of the last character of this ideograph, 毉, consists of the upper character 毆 and the lower character 巫. 毆 means "a strange figure" while 巫 means a shaman. Therefore it can be easily imagined that those who cured illness, that is, the doctors who were the shaman, were different from ordinary people in ancient China. According to another theory about the meaning of this character, 毆 means "strange voices." Following the meaning in this theory, the shamans at that time are considered to have spoken in a strange voice when they tried to oust evil spirits.

The character of this ideograph, 醫, consists of 毆 and 酉. 酉 describes the shape of a saké barrel and used to mean saké itself. This fact clearly indicates that saké was offered at a ritual or drunk by the shaman in order to excite him and stimulate his emotions; indeed, the fact that saké might have been taken as a medicine is contraindicated. The ancient Chinese apparently did not believe that saké was effective as a medical cure.

The character now in use, 医, is the simplified form of 醫. According to a dictionary compiled in the Later Han Period, 医 is "a place in which 矢 arrows are stored." This character now means "medicine." Therefore, reasons Professor Shirakawa Shizuka of Ritsumei-kan University in Japan, the arrows must have been stored by the shamans for future use as charms. It is known that in Japan in the 8th century a magical rite was indeed performed in order to oust evil spirits by plucking the string of a catalpa bow to make an audible sound.

The theory that the first physician was a shaman is based not only on the above-mentioned research on the Chinese character but also on a story that has been handed down to us through the ages according to which the first physician in China was a shaman named Fukan. 東

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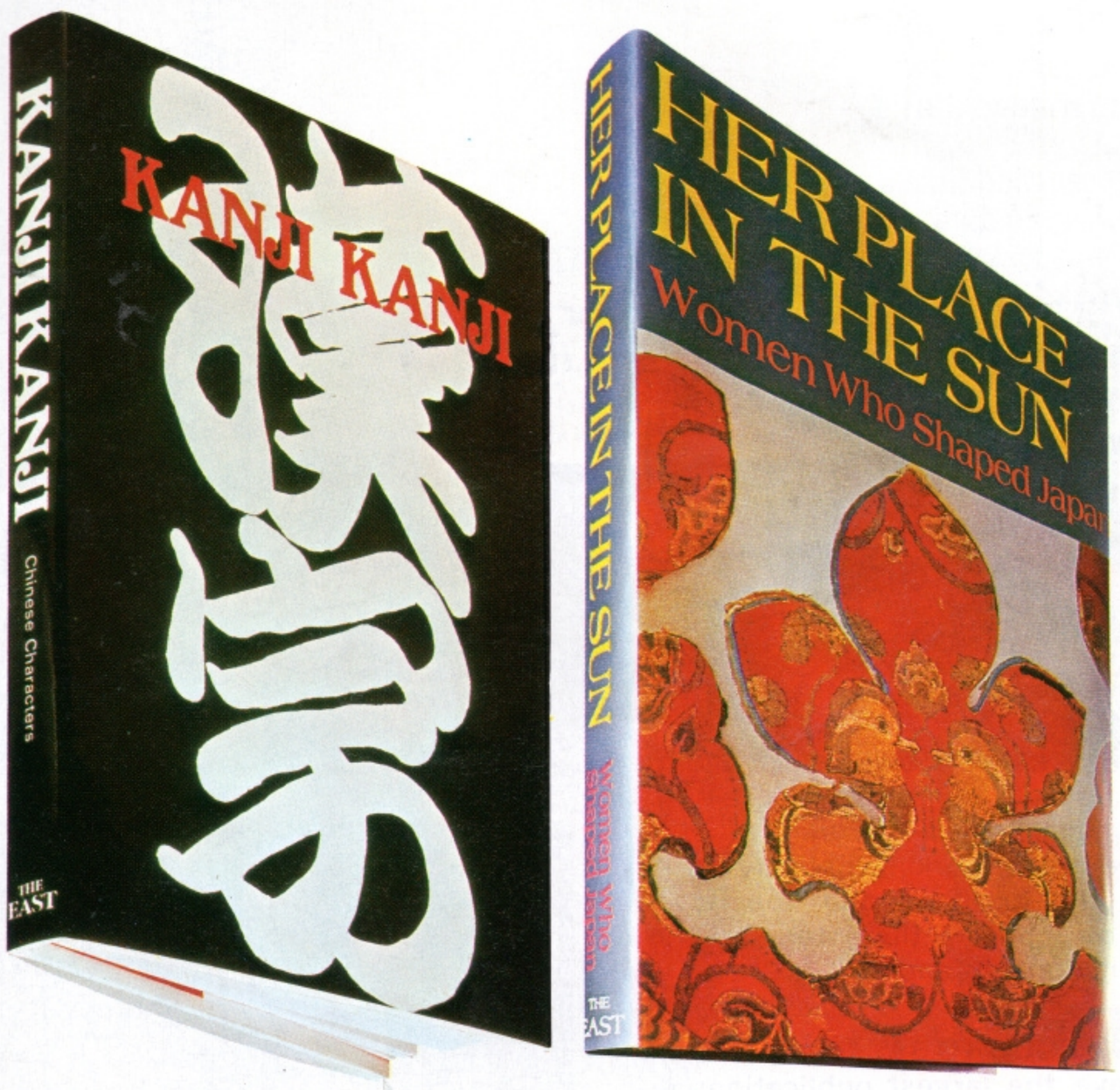


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# My Oriental Ego Trip

*by Donna Remmert*

I AM A VERY special woman—beautiful, gifted, and intelligent. Staring at me is irresistible and having a conversation with me is everyone's dream. I haven't always felt this way about myself. Only since coming to Japan to live.

The timing was perfect. My husband had achieved an executive status that made him feel important without me, my children had become school boys and needed me less. That put me out on a limb, looking frumpy, feeling frumpy, and acting frumpy.

Everything changed the day we arrived at Haneda Airport in Tokyo. Thousands of people were waiting at the arrival gate, eager to get a glimpse of us. This was when I first felt my importance, separate from my family's. Perhaps those company executives who appeared from the crowd were there to greet my VIP husband, and true that our children did get a few affectionate pats on the head, but most obvious of all was that I was the one everyone stared at. Young men were looking at me, not just glancing but looking straight into my eyes. They were flirting, not with a vulgar American style wink or whistle, but with a highly refined twinkle of the eye, void of facial expression and noticeable only to someone with her antenna up. My mousy brown hair, in this crowd, seemed light blonde, and my big blue eyes got even bigger as I stared straight back. Suddenly my double knit pants suit seemed all wrong. I should have worn a body stocking with a leather skirt and lots of clunky jewelry—something more vogue and youthful. And, my hair was all wrong tied back. I should have worn it down, to show off its natural luster. Blondes definitely do have more fun in Japan, I decided.

It wasn't long before I noticed that Japanese men, like American men, have a fixation over breasts. I find this fact much easier to cope with in this land of Twiggy-like ladies where I measure in at a staggering 88 on the metric system. Sounds better than 32, and looks better, too. Perhaps I'm standing straighter now that I'm feeling beautiful in a mysterious, foreign sort of way. I love it!

The thrill of being beautiful, I suppose, would grow thin after awhile, if there were nothing else to me. Thank God I'm also extremely gifted. My most outstanding talent is that I speak the English language very well. My vocabulary is immense, my pronunciation is perfect, and my sentences are always well constructed. Even though I modestly explain that this comes from having lived all my life in America, the Japanese are still impressed and seem to think I'm exceptional, regardless of my background. They may be right. People are actually willing to pay me for a conversation with them. Is it fair, I ask myself, when there are so many other gifts I have to offer the Japanese.

For instance, I have only recently discovered that I am a fabulous cook. I make gourmet things like beef stew, meat loaf, and chocolate chip cookies. Again, people offer me money to teach them my se-

crets. I'd like to help if I weren't so busy discovering other things about myself.

I have only recently realized, for instance, that I am an excellent interior decorator, clever in the way I throw pillows for accent, trim curtains with balled fringe, and scatter rugs hither and yon. Japanese ladies, burdened with simplicity as a keynote to home decor, are eager to break loose and clutter the way I do.

Perhaps my most outstanding talent is as an entertainer. In Japan, party merriment often includes singing songs, doing little dances, or something of this sort. After my initial shyness was conquered I began to enjoy the fun and the camaraderie between cultures. At the last party I attended, inspired over the praise I received from having sung "You Are My Sunshine", I belted out "Dixie" and received a standing ovation. Later in the evening, feeling really clever and comical, I sang "Hokey Pokey", doing the motions with great gusto. They loved me and kept asking for more; everyone, that is, except my husband who is the world's worst diplomat abroad.

Being beautiful and talented would seem like enough, but the fact is, I am also intelligent. Whenever I say something, people here agree and make oows and ahs as though I had really unearthed a remarkable fact. When I look at something, they gather round to see what it is that I have noticed, thinking that my keen insight is worth observing. Simply because I am a Western woman, Japanese men discuss economics, politics, ecology with me. They think I have opinions. This has been a bit of a problem for me, I will admit, and has required some fast brushing up. It has, in fact, stimulated some very deep conversations with my husband who joked recently about me picking his brain, as though I were plagerizing or something. With time, I'll feel more comfortable in my role as an intellectual since, basically, I really am an intellectual, never having had an outlet. In the meantime, I can blame any lack of comprehension onto the language gap.

Because of my unusual beauty, talent, and intelligence I am naturally quite special in Japan, deserving, in all humility, a respect that is due to anyone of high position, so to speak. The Japanese are, by tradition, experts in this regard. And I feel that it is my duty as a foreigner in this country to act in accordance with their expectations. Actually, I find it quite enjoyable and not at all a bother. The bow is where it all begins. One must never bow deeper than one's subordinate, which for me is a great relief since my back doesn't bend as automatically as theirs. They bend at the waist until they are parallel to the ground; I nod my head in a polite expression of acknowledgement. We both seem to understand.

In public, where most Japanese release their pent up social aggressions by pushing, shoving, and looking out for themselves only, allowances are made for me because of my uniqueness. Men, women, and children offer me their seats on the train. If I lose my way, I am often personally escorted to my desired location. The reason is clear: I am special.

Actually, I am somewhat protected from the hassle of mingling in the public by having at my disposal a chauffeured limousine for official company occasions. One cannot help but be impressed. The driver wears a black uniform with spotlessly clean white gloves, and the large imported car's upholstery is sanitized and beautified with a white lace coverlet. To insure absolute perfection, the driver feather-dusts the car, inside and outside, when he is waiting for our beckon. But, in an effort not to display snobbery, I never complain about having to drive my own car to and from school, the grocery store, etc. If the occasion is official, then, of course, we go in the manner to which we have become accustomed:

In my home, I am called "Okusan" which, in literal translation, means Honorable Wife. I like that! Our help—the maid, gardeners, and maintenance people—say the word so beautifully, in a respectful whisper. They agree with everything I say, and say exactly what they know I want to hear. This permits me the wonderful luxury of always being right and it promotes a harmony in our home that eases my mind of domestic concerns. This gives me time to attend to my social commitments which are considerable even though it is not customary in Japan for wives to accompany their husband to social affairs. The Japanese ordinarily prefer the company of their geisha, unless, of course, it means having a beautiful foreign woman present. Hence, my active social calendar.

Besides social involvements, I am also busy with business matters. Shopping is serious business since I feel that it is essential for me to spend a good portion of my husband's salary in order to help the Japanese economy. The fact that I derive considerable pleasure from the purchase of these Oriental treasures is beside the point. It's the good will that counts.

My latest business challenge has been to persuade my husband's home office that we are definitely needed in Japan and will probably have to stay here for a long, long time.

# Himiko, Queen of Wa

## Japan Around the Middle of the Third Century

*by Yonekura Isamu*

Queen Himiko gives an order to her brother. (Illustrated by Ban Kojin)

*In the latter part of the 2nd century large-scale conflicts broke out in* Wa, *the land of Japan. These conflicts, which were fought by various disorganized forces, are thought to have lasted for a considerable length of time, even longer than five years.*

*During the period of these conflicts* Wa *had no king. The fighting forces reached an agreement, however, to allow a woman to ascend to the throne, and thus these conflicts were brought to an end. The queen whom they chose to reign over* Wa *was called Himiko, or Himeko. She was single and rather old. She never appeared in public and met a very limited number of people in the Court. According to historical documents she subjugated nearly all the small countries in the land (believed to have numbered about thirty in all) and governed the people by shamanism. Queen Himiko also maintained diplomatic relations with the country of China.*

## The Customs and Manners of Wajin (the Japanese)

THE OLDEST documentary data concerning Japanese history is found in *Sangoku-shi* (*The Three Kingdoms*), a Chinese history compiled in the 3rd century A.D. (It was not until the 8th century that the first books on Japanese history were written by the Japanese themselves). *Sangoku-shi* tells us that after the end of the Later Han dynasty in China, in 226 A.D., the Three Kingdoms were established: Wei in north China, Shu in the west and Wu in the south.

The first mention in documents about Japan, or *Wa*, is found in the volume of *Gishi* of the *Sangoku-shi*. *Gishi* is the documentary history of Wei, which had diplomatic relations with *Wa*. Although only 2,000 words in the book mention Wa, scholars regard the information to be of great importance not only because it is the oldest data about Japan but also because it is an account which was written by contemporary authors.

Various opinions have been advanced as to how to interpret the descriptions of Japan that appear in *Gishi*, taking into account that the information was written 1700 years ago by non-Japanese (Chinese). A main point of controversy among scholars has been the question of the location of the Kingdom of Yamatai (or Yamato) where Queen Himiko resided. Some insist that it was located somewhere in the Kinki district (Nara, Kyōto, and Ōsaka areas) while others think that it must have been located in Kyūshū.

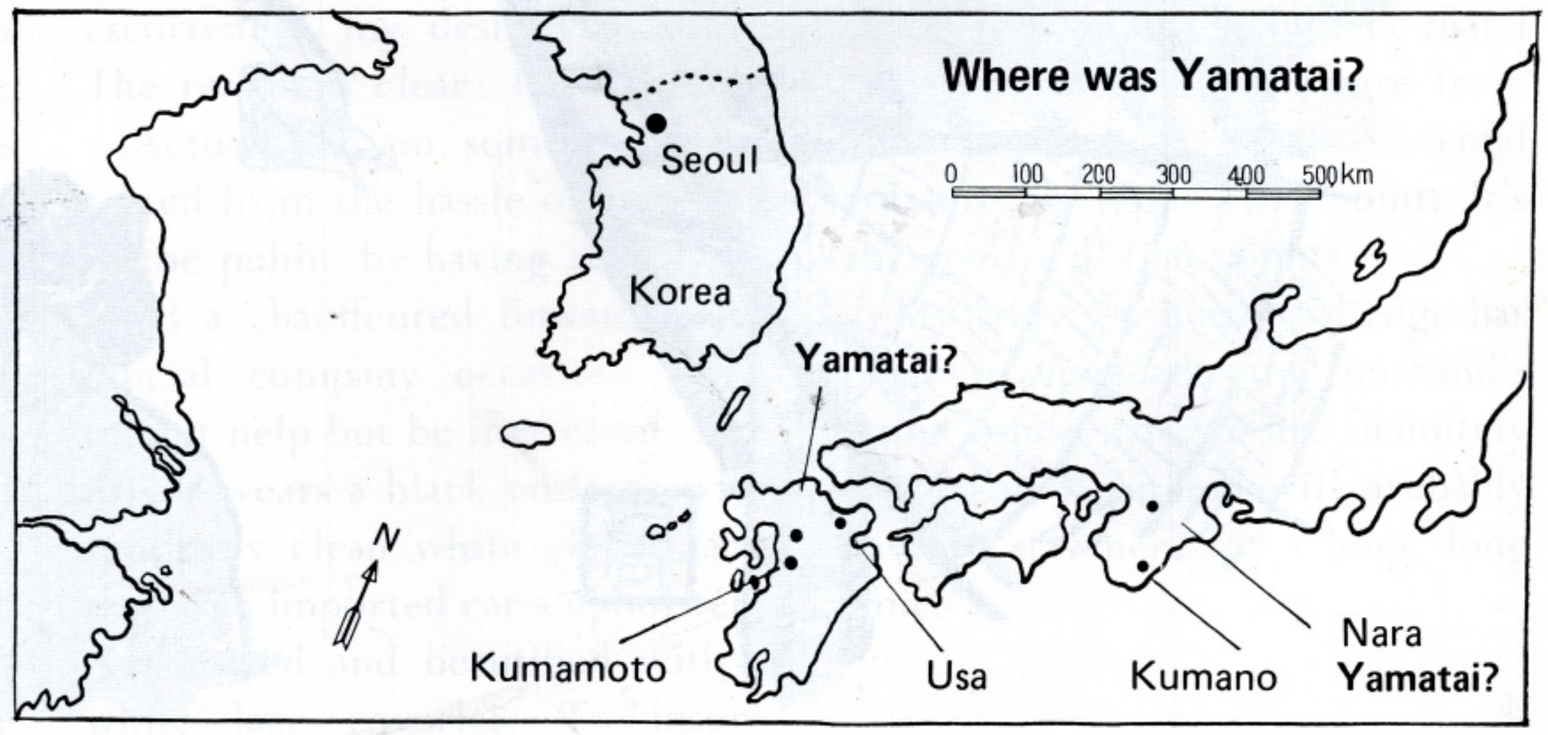
Besides the geographical information, this document also describes Japanese customs and manners in the 3rd century A.D. in a concise and vivid style. I will introduce some of these descriptions of life in *Wa* at the time of Queen Himiko, which are mainly based on this document but with some supplementary information that has been derived from archeological research.

We are given the following varied lists of information:

The climate of *Wa* was mild. Camphor, horse chestnut, Quercus serrata (a kind of oak) and oak trees grew in profusion. Various kinds of bamboo could be seen.

The people planted rice, wheat, millet, soy beans, red beans and greens, and grew *ichibi* (a kind of jute) and mulberry trees to produce cloth and silk.

Men tied their hair in a knot on the top of their head or in a circular fashion on both sides, and wore a headband. Their clothing consisted of a simple stole made of a strip of cloth. It was not at all a tailored garment and it was often worn draped around their hips and



tied with a waist belt made of a string.

The women wore *kantōi*, a dress made with an opening for the head, and tied a string or a rope at the waist. They used rouge on their cheeks. Some of them wore ornaments such as necklaces or earrings made of seashells. Sometimes these ornaments were made of pieces of deer bones.

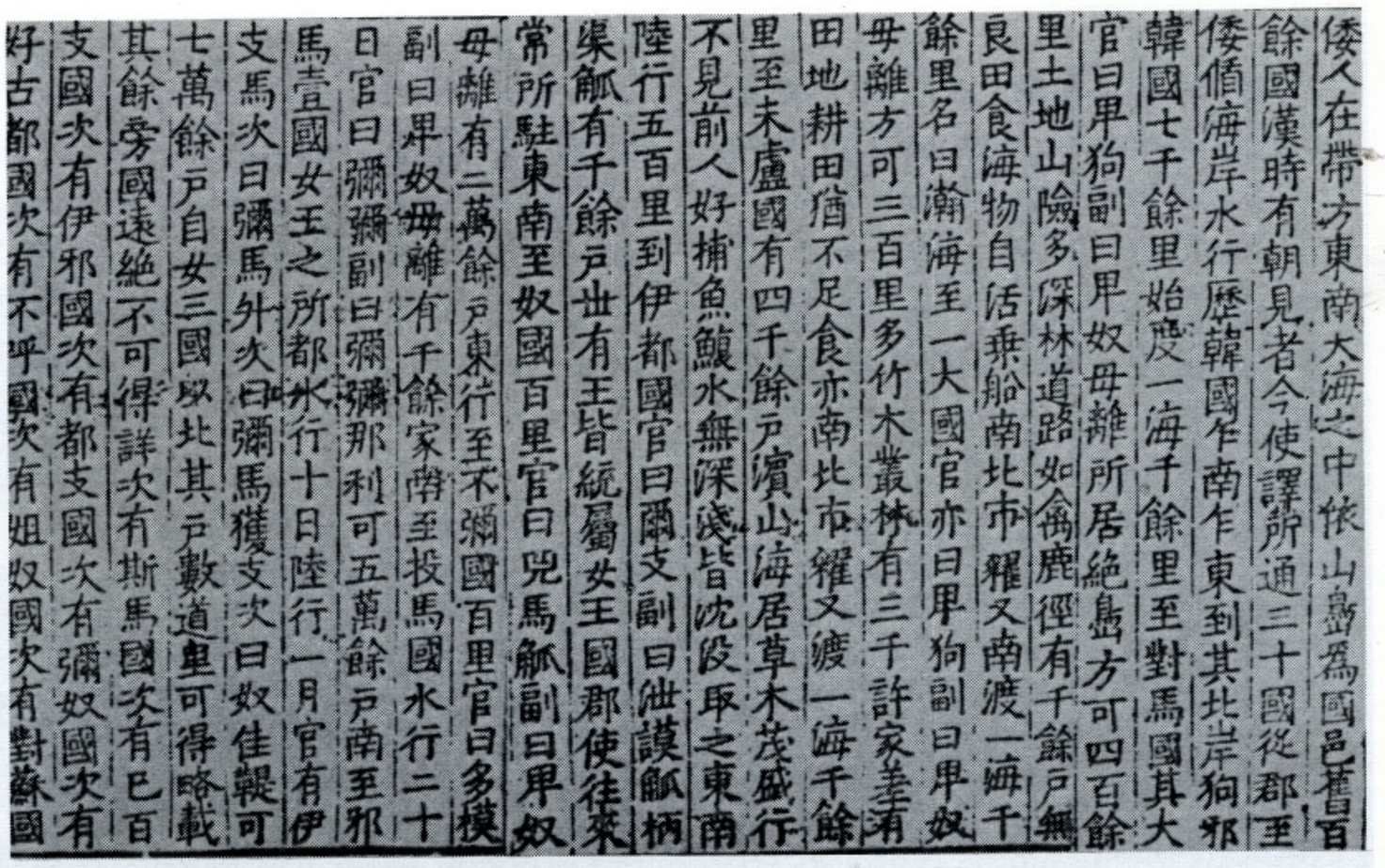
The Chinese referred to other countries as *Wi* (countries of barbarians) and were contemptuous of them at that time. However, they thought highly of the customs and manners of the *Wajin* (the Japanese) living in what they referred to as "the Wi in the east" (Japan), saying that these people were "not licentious."

Every man was tattoed on different parts of his body in patterns which varied in size and in subject matter depending upon the fashion of the part of the country in which he lived. Some large pictures might be tattoed on his right side and small figures might be tattoed on his left side.

Fishermen apparently practiced the art of spear-fishing and believed that tattos protected them from the attacks of dangerous fish.

The ruling class and the ruled classes differed greatly in social standing. For example, if a person of the ruled class came face to face with a member of the ruling class he clapped and then bowed with clasped-hands while kneeling. If a person of the ruled class happened to meet a member of the ruling class on the street, he hid in the nearest thicket. If a person of the ruled class spoke with a person of the ruling class he fell to his knees with his head nearly touching the floor and spoke in a most respectful manner.

*Gishi* continues to describe various aspects of life in Japan at that time:



The article in "Gishi" mentioning Wa.
This is a historical book describing 3rd century Japan.

Parents and their children slept in different rooms. (This custom was mentioned because the Chinese of that period and the people of some of the surrounding countries had the custom that parents and their children slept in the same room).

The custom of polygamy was prevalent among the Japanese. Rulers generally had four or five wives and even an ordinary man had two or three and shared his wives with his relatives. Women did not seem to be jealous.

Many people enjoyed longevity and lived to be 90 and even 100 years old.

*Gishi* also mentions about the social conditions of the Japanese of that time:

In Japanese society there were no thieves; there were very few conflicts.

If a man broke a law, the punishment which was meted out to him was also meted out to his wife and children. If the crime was serious, the punishment was extended to his relatives and sometimes, depending on the seriousness of the crime, to all the members of the village.

When someone died, the family went into mourning and did not eat meat for about ten days. It is thought that the mourners partook of venison or brawn. The chief mourner sobbed in a loud voice. Other members of the family sang songs and danced while drinking saké. When the period of mourning passed, every member of the family went to a river and bathed in order to purify themselves and get rid of impurities.

When someone wished to make a decision that concerned the whole village, a piece of deer bone was burnt, and by the cracks that appeared in it he was able to tell the villagers their fortunes. [Actually, some pieces of such burnt deer bones of that time have been excavated].

## Himiko's Diplomatic Policies

YAMATAI, where Queen Himiko resided, was the most powerful state in *Wa*.

*Wa*, ruled by Queen Himiko, is considered to have been the first state—if it can be called "state"—in Japan. Of the thirty small coun-

tries which comprised it, each one had markets where articles were exchanged.

In Yamatai, official residences and grain storehouses were seen. (Each of the thirty countries supplied Yamatai with grain).

A watchtower manned by soldiers stood upon the high walls which surrounded the palace.

One thousand court ladies waited in attendance upon the Queen. Only her younger brother was allowed to enter her rooms. He took care of her, received her orders and reported to her any information pertaining to various countries in *Wa* and to foreign countries as well.

Almost all countries in *Wa* were under the reign of Queen Himiko. To keep a close eye on neighbouring countries, she stationed an official in the country of Ito, which was in northern Kyūshū. At that time one particular port in Ito played the most important role in the diplomacy and trade relations which Queen Himiko maintained with foreign countries. Delegations which the Queen sent from *Wa* to *Wei* in China and to some countries

A scene in the district of Yamato where some scholars believed the country of Yamatai existed.

in Korea sailed from this port and delegations from foreign countries to *Wa* anchored their ships there. The delegations then completed their business in Ito.

The officers that the Queen had stationed at the port were obliged to inspect all gifts and written communications that had been brought from foreign countries before sending them on to the country of Yamatai. Further precautions were taken by stationing a defense corps, called *Hinamori*, at the frontier. These precautions were necessary because although Queen Himiko exercised great influence in many countries, she apparently did not have a stable political position.

This was shown by the fact that Kuna, one of the countries in *Wa*, was not subject to the rule of Yamatai. Moreover Kuna, known as the only country independent of the influence of Yamatai, was ruled by the King Hikomiko (Himimiko). Some scholars believe that Kuna was in Kumano, Wakayama Prefecture, or in another part of Kumamoto Prefecture.

It was necessary for Himiko to have the support of some foreign country in order to cope with the conflicts in *Wa*. She attempted, therefore, to reinforce her authority with the help of *Wei* in China, one of the most powerful countries in east Asia. *Wei* had gained ascendancy over the northern part of China in the year 238 by completely quelling the rebellions of the surrounding tribes which had

erupted there. Himiko utilised this opportunity.

In June of 239, the following year, she sent a delegation to *Wei* under the direction of Nashimé, a high-ranking officer of Yamatai. He first headed for Taihōgun on the Korean Peninsula, (the Seoul district of today), which was under the control of *Wei*.

Aboard the ship carrying the delegation were ten slaves, who some scholars think were sent as presents to the Emperor of *Wei*. Also aboard was a peculiar figure, a shaman called Jisai (literally, a man clad in mourning clothes). He never ate meat nor let a woman approach him. He wore filthy clothing and never combed his hair. The Japanese of that time used to rely on the spiritual powers of these shamans in order to assure the security of those aboard ship when on a long voyage. If the voyage was completed safely, the shaman met with hospitable treatment and was presented with treasures, but if the ship had a stormy passage or someone fell ill, the shaman was sometimes killed.

Upon the ship's arrival at its destination, the delegation requested the governor of Taihōgun to arrange a meeting with the Emperor of Wei. The delegation then proceeded to Loyan, the capital of *Wei*, arriving in December of the same year (239), and presented the ten slaves and woven materials to the Emperor. It conveyed to him the message that Himiko, Queen of Yamatai, sought to have friendly diplomatic relations with *Wei* and declared her loyalty to the Emperor.

The Emperor of *Wei*, upon receiving the message, realized its importance, because he himself was having difficulties in ruling Korea. At that time the Koreans were attempting to unify their country. While some districts in Korea were under the control of *Wei*, most of the remaining districts were under only indirect rule. Thus the Emperor of *Wei* received the delegation of Queen Himiko with graciousness and hospitality. He granted an audience to the delegation and pronounced the follow ng Imperial edict:

"Although You (indicating Himiko) live far away, You have sent this delegation to me and offered tribute. I am deeply impressed with Your attitude in which You promise loyalty to *Wei*. From now on I will accept You as "The Queen of *Wa* Loyal to *Wei*" and confer this title on You. I will give You the gold seal on which this title is engraved. You are to rule Your people and render faithful service to *Wei*.

I will show my appreciation for the trouble that Your delegates Nashimé and Gori have taken in visiting *Wei* from Your far-away country. I will confer upon them the titles of a high-ranking post of *Wei* and will give them silver seals on which the title is engraved."

The Emperor of *Wei* then presented Queen Himiko's delegation with various woven materials such as silk; pearls, and swords, and mirrors made of bronze as well as the seals in return for the gifts that the Queen had sent to him.

To Imperial edict continues: "You should show all the gifts of *Wei* to the people of Your country, informing them that *Wei* acknowledges Your power to such an extent."

The following year, 240, the government of *Wei* sent a delegation of high-ranking officers to Queen Himiko in Yamatai to present her with the Imperial edict and accompanying gifts. (Scholars believe that this delegation visited the Queen together with the returning delegation from Yamatai that had visited *Wei*).

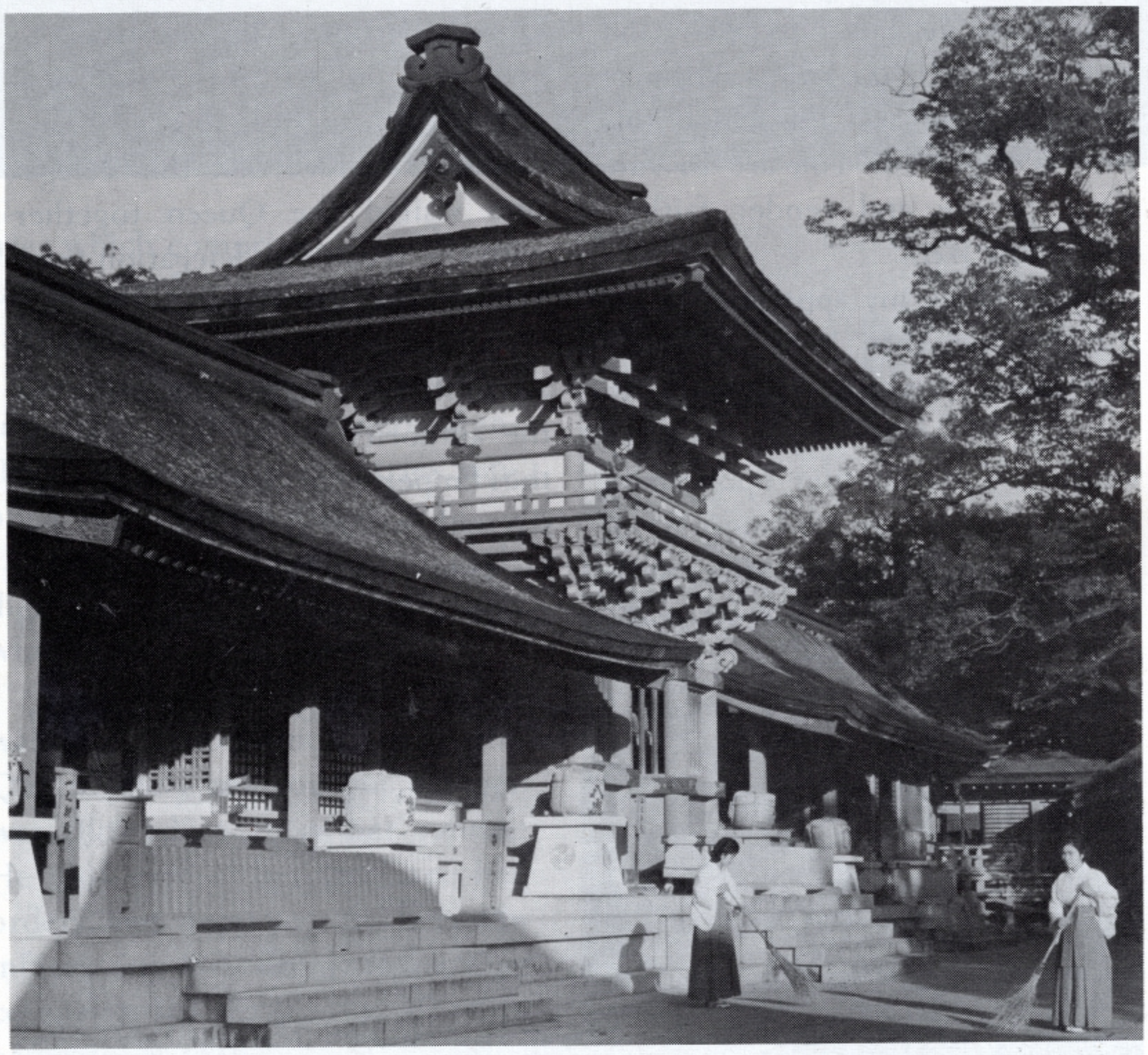
So Queen Himiko in this way attempted to take advantage of the authority vested upon her by the Emperor of *Wei* in order to strengthen her rule in *Wa*. On his side, the Emperor of *Wei* attempted to unify the countries in

Some scholars believe that this mound (at left in the photograph) in Nara prefecture is Himiko's tomb.

Korea by making *Wa*—the most powerful country of which was Yamatai—loyal to him. This was of extreme importance to the Emperor of *Wei* because those countries in Korea which were situated between *Wei* and *Wa* were the very ones which were showing signs of resistance against him.

In the following years Queen Himiko often sent missions to *Wei* to offer tribute. For example, in the year 244 a rebellion broke

Usa, which some scholars consider to be the location of the country of Yamatai. Usa shrine in Usa, Oita prefecture, northern Kyushu, is thought to have been dedicated to Queen Himiko.



out in Koguryo, the northern Korean Kingdom. As soon as the Emperor of *Wei* brought this rebellion under control, Queen Himiko sent a delegation to him to congratulate him for his victory. Thus the authority of Himiko as the Queen of *Wa* was strengthened. Unfortunately, as Himiko gained authority, the relations between Yamatai and Kuna, the sole country independent of Yamatai, became increasingly strained.

## Death of Himiko

About the year 245 an Imperial edict and a battle flag arrived at Taihōgun in Korea on their way from *We* to Yamatai. It is thought that Himiko asked for them in order to receive the help of *Wei* because her hostile relations with Kuna were developing into an inevitable war. But then a rebellion broke out in Taihōgun as a result of Korean resistance to the rule of *Wei*. In this conflict the Chinese governor of Taihōgun was killed. In the year 247 a new governor assumed his post and the rebellion was brought under control.

About the same time, the battle between Yamatai and Kuna began. In 247, as soon as Himiko was advised of the arrival of the new governor at Taihōgun, she sent a delegation to inform him that hostile relations with Kuna had finally developed into a full-scale war and asking for reinforcements. In compliance with her request the government of *Wei* sent a delegation to Yamatai consisting of the officers who had been stationed at Taihōgun, together with another Imperial edict and a battle flag. This delegation assisted in making plants for operations and issued written appeals to encourage the army of the Queen. In other words, the delegation of *Wei* was in reality an advisory council of war.

The war against Kuna was fought fiercely. At that time, the weapons used in battle consisted of shields and halberds, both of which are believed to have been made of iron, and wooden bows, the shape of which was so unique that the Chinese of that time recorded it. The strip of the bow was formed into two convex arcs, one long and one short. This type of bow has come down to us today and is still used in archery. The arrow was made of bamboo with an iron or bone arrowhead on top. Scholars believe that at that time horses were not used in wars.

During this conflict Queen Himiko died. It is not known whether she was killed on the battle field or died of illness. According to *Gishi*, the funeral services for the Queen were held in an exceptionally grand style for that time. She was buried in the tomb of a large mound which had a diameter of 140 m., and more than one hundred ladies of the court were buried with her. The death of Himiko must have been a severe shock for Yamatai.

Soon after her death the conflict with Kuna was brought under control. The advisory council of war sent from *Wei* is thought to have contributed to the victory of *Wa*.

The man who succeeded to the throne may possibly have been her younger brother. In any case, all of the countries which had been subject to the rule of Himiko did not obey the new King. And then another bloody conflict broke out in *Wa*, in which more than one thousand men were killed. This conflict was finally brought to an end by the accession to the throne of a thirteen-year-old girl. This girl, called Iyo (or Toyo) is supposed to have been as prominent in shamanism as Himiko had been. If this supposition is correct, we can infer that both of the conflicts in *Wa* were brought under control by means of the rule of a woman skilled in shamanism, indicating that the people of that time had a strong belief in that religion.

A boat depicted on Yayoi earthenware (300 B.C. – 300 A.D.).

Animals depicted on earthenware of Yayoi Period (300 B.C. – 300 A.D.) excavated in Karako, Nara Prefecture.

The delegation which had come from *Wei* and which had remained in Yamatai returned to its own land after Iyo acceded to the throne.

The new Queen Iyo followed Himiko's diplomatic policy. She sent a delegation to *Wei* which consisted of twenty high-ranking officers of Yamatai to confer gifts of jewels and woven materials as well as thirty slaves to the Emperor of *Wei* to repay him for his help. "These tributes surpassed those which had been sent by Queen Himiko both in quantity and in quality." *Gishi* ends the explanation relating to Yamatai's politics with this sentence.

In 265 A.D. in China the power

Takatsuki, stem ware, was used in the 3rd century by Wajin (Japanese).

of the *Wei* dynasty ended and was replaced by the Chin dynasty. According to a historical document compiled in the 7th century, one year after the establishment of the Chin dynasty, in the year 266, the Queen of *Wa* (probably Queen Iyo) sent a delegation to offer tribute to the new dynasty. It is believed that Iyo sent the delegation all the way to China in order to establish friendly relations with the new dynasty. It is obvious that she was following the same tactics in foreign policy as Queen Himiko had been. It is most interesting to note that since that time Yamatai has never appeared in any historical documents. No documents exist to inform us whether Yamatai ended with the period of Queen Iyo or whether Yamatai developed into the Yamato Court, the government which was established about the 4th or 5th century and ruled Japan.

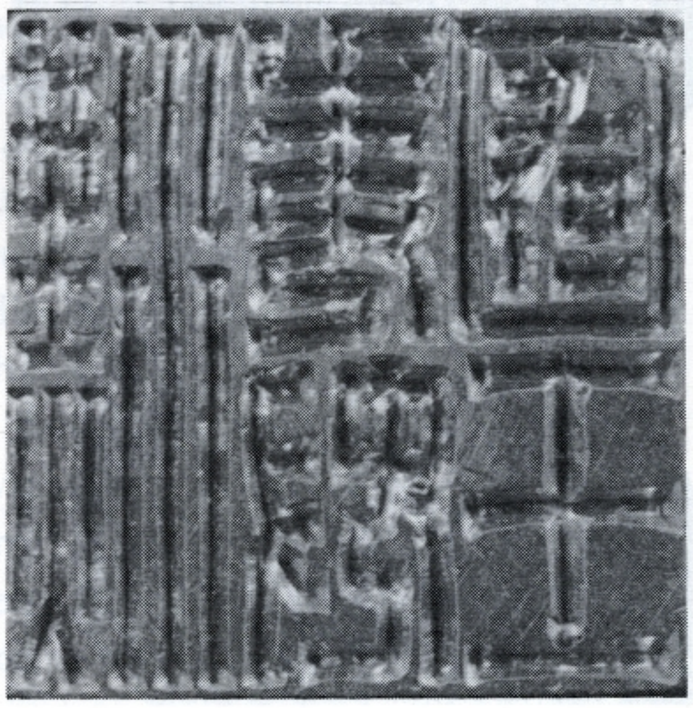
## Himiko's Actual Role

WHAT kind of a Queen was Himiko? The Chinese historical document contains the information that Himiko united about thirty countries and became the Queen of all *Wa*. Many scholars have advanced various opinions about Himiko's actual role in government. Here I will introduce an interesting theory which was advanced by Professor Inoué Mitsusada of the University of Tōkyō.

According to this theory, Himiko did not actually take over the reigns of government as a ruler, but helped the real ruler—her brother—by means of exerting her strong spiritual powers over the people. Professor Inoue gives us two examples on which he has based his theory.

In Okinawa many old Japanese customs remain. For example, in "Omoro-zōshi", a collection of old Okinawan songs of the 13th or 14th century, *Kikoe-taikun* appear. A *Kikoe-taikun* was a woman who used her strong spiritual powers to guard the King who was the true head of the government despite the fact that a woman sat on the throne. Every time that one King replaced another a *Kikoe-taikun* was chosen by means of a divine message from among his relatives. Because a *Kikoe-taikun*—like Himiko—was attended by many women, Professor Inoué

The gold seal excavated at Shikanoshima, Fukuoka prefecture, northern Kyushu. "King of Na subject to Han" is engraved on this seal.



considers that Himiko played the same role as that played by a *Kikoe-taikun*.

Also, in the eighth century at Kamigamo shrine, Kyōto, the head priest (always male) presided over some of the divine services and administrative duties of the shrine. The most important divine service, however, was performed by an unmarried woman who was chosen from among his relatives every time a new head priest was chosen. It is interesting to note that before the 8th century the ancestors of the head priests had been the governors of a district in southern Kyōto. Therefore Professor Inoué believes that before the 8th century the male head of a tribe held the actual reins of government while an unmarried woman with the strong spiritual powers of a shaman was chosen from among his relatives to help him in his duties to rule the country as King. Professor Inoué thinks that Queen Himiko and her brother played similar roles.

## Location of Yamatai

As was mentioned before, the controversy over the location of Yamatai, the country of Himiko, has not ended because the description about its location as presented in *Gishi*, the sole document that deals with Yamatai, cannot be correct. *Gishi* records the arrival of a person at Yamatai by pointing out how many days of journey were required, how many *li* in distance were needed to arrive there, and how to get there from a specified locality. There are two main theories advanced to clarify the exact location of Yamatai. One theory states that Yamatai was in Nara Prefecture while the other insists it was in northern Kyūshū. The first theory traces the location of Yamatai by placing emphasis on the distance involved as described in *Gishi*. The second theory relies more on direction rather than on distance and also agrees with the archaeological theory which argues that northern Kyūshū had a more developed culture than Nara at that time.

The exact location of Yamatai has an important connection with the following question: on what scale was Japan unified and when? If Yamatai was in Nara, her influence must have ranged at least from Kyūshū to the Kinki district. Also if it was in Nara it is not at all difficult to argue that Yamatai established the Yamato Court which unified Japan in the 4th or 5th century.

If Yamatai was in northern Kyūshū, on the other hand, Himiko's influence must have been limited to Kyūshū, judging from the description in *Gishi*. Then the subsequent question arises: did Yamatai cease to exist or did its capital move to Nara to establish the Yamato Court? The newest findings in the field of archaeology show that the culture of the Nara district in the 4th or 5th century was similar to that of northern Kyūshū at the end of the 3rd century. But the culture of Nara district in the 4th or 5th century was not at all like that of 3rd-century Nara.

These facts indicate that Yamatai must have been in northern Kyūshū and that its capital moved to Nara later. This conclusion, however, has not yet been definitely proven. The questions concerning Yamatai are most important in order to find the origin of the first state in Japan. The controversy over these questions continues, and many publications on Yamatai have been issued by both scholars and laymen.

## Coming Up in the Next Issue:

**Religion—Buddha**

At the top of the hierarchical ladder of Buddhism stand the Buddhas who have attained awakening. Buddha, meaning the "Awakened One" or the "Enlightened One", is one of the most important doctrines of Buddhism.

Dr. Nakamura will write about the life and mission of the historical Buddha, namely Gotama Buddha, and will trace the development of the doctrine concerning the Buddhas.

**Sociology—The Japanese and Their Conception of Law**

The western legal system was introduced in Japan at the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868–1912) abolishing the old Japanese system which had been observed until then. From that time the western legal system has been in practice in Japan. However, the conception of law, which was established before the Meiji Period, still plays an important role.

We will present an interesting article on the subject entitled "The Japanese and Their Conception of Law".

Notice: Vol. X No. 6 will reach you about the middle of July. We allow six weeks for delivery.

Please inform us if you do not wish to renew your subscription by checking the enclosed order card. Thank you.

# AMEYA YOKOCHO: MERCANTILISM UNDER AN ELEVATED RAILWAY

Cries of clerks advertizing wares can be heard everywhere in Ameyoko.

Along and around a little street beside the Yamanote line, which circles the center of Tōkyō, a number of small shops stand side by side which are crowded with customers every day of the year. This shopping area, which extends about 400 m. under the elevated railway between Ueno and Okachimachi stations, is called Ameya Yokocho (literally Ameya by-street).

Most customers who shop in this area are not those who live close by but those who come from other areas of Tōkyō just for the shopping. In this respect this shopping area is unique.

### The Sights of Ameyoko

About four hundred shops stand closely side by side in this area. Most of them have a frontage of 4 to 5 meters but others are two to three meters wide. These shops sell a variety of goods such as food, clothing, watches, fountain pens, lighters, accessories and cosmetics. About one-third of them sell imported articles.

This area is not only always busy but is also very noisy, for the trains clatter by at intervals of two to three minutes, and the clerks in the shops have to practically shout to their customers: "Have a look at this article! It's a good bargain!"

The reason that this small shopping area attracts so many people every day is that the customers can buy many articles, especially imports, at lower prices than they can elsewhere in Tōkyō.

This store is so small that wallets are displayed under its extended roof. ⬇

The narrow streets of Ameyoko are always crowded with customers. The photograph shows a year-end scene in the shopping area. ⬇

Various kinds of goods are sold in Ameyoko. Playing cards, karuta (Japanese playing cards) and shogi (Japanese chess) sets are seen in the photograph.

Dried cuttlefish, sea tangles, herring-roe, etc. are on display.

Literally, Ameya simply means shops which sell wheat gluten, and the area was so named because Ameya shops used to be there. Nowadays, however, Ameyoko, the shortened term for Ameya-Yokocho, reminds people that imported products are sold there. Some people misunderstand that the "Ame" in Ameyoko means "America!"

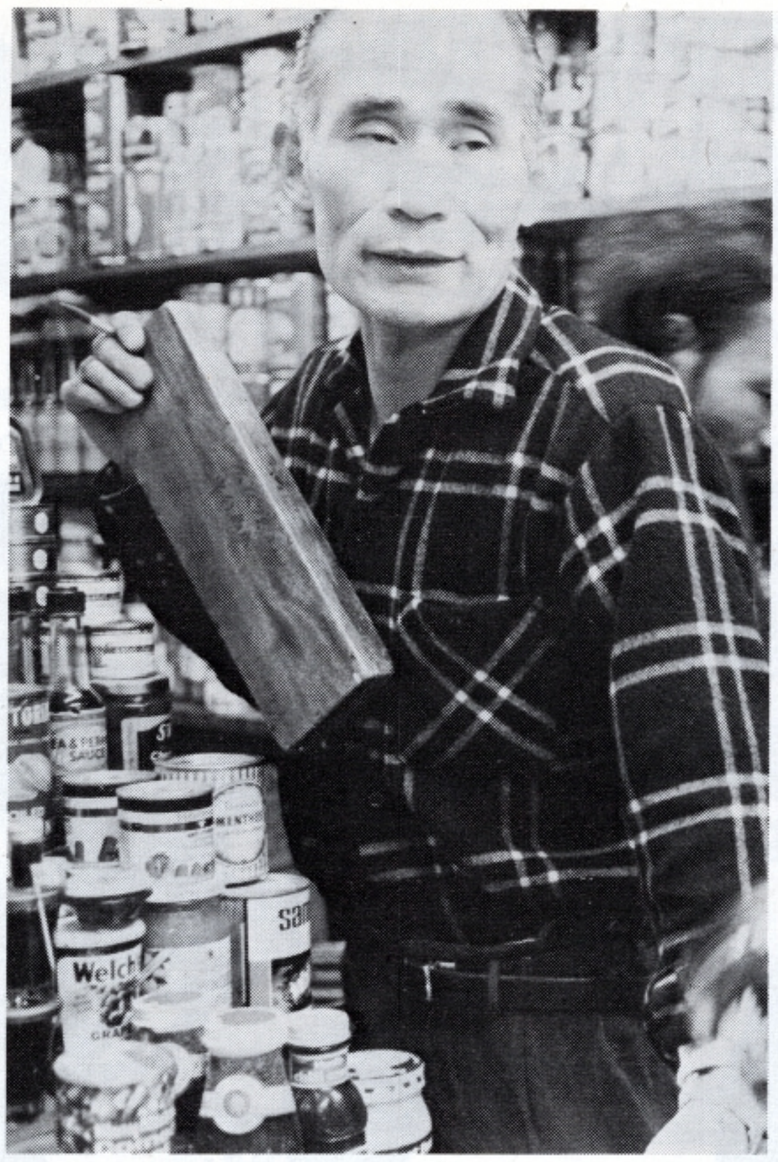
All of the shops in that area buy large quantaties of goods from wholesalers and from factories and pay in cash. This is why the owners of the shops are able to sell their merchandise at lower prices.

Young clerks wearing head bands shout to attract customers.

**Ameyoko Mercantilism**

Every morning the owner of a cake shop in Ameyoko instructs his clerks by saying, "Do your best with 'Ameyoko mercantilism'. It is this spirit with which the Japanese people were able to recover from the terrible situation which existed in their country after the end of World War II."

At the end of the war, most of Tōkyō had been reduced to ruins. Those people who were forced to lead a hand-to-mouth existence gathered in and around Ueno Station to get the food which was sent into the station by train from the agricultural areas around Tōkyō and from the Tohoku district.



Cash registers are seldom, if ever, seen in this shopping area. Instead the abacus is used.

"Have a look at this. It's a bargain!"

Goods in Ameyoko are sold at lower prices than in other shopping areas

Lighters, handbags, wallets, belts, etc. are on display.

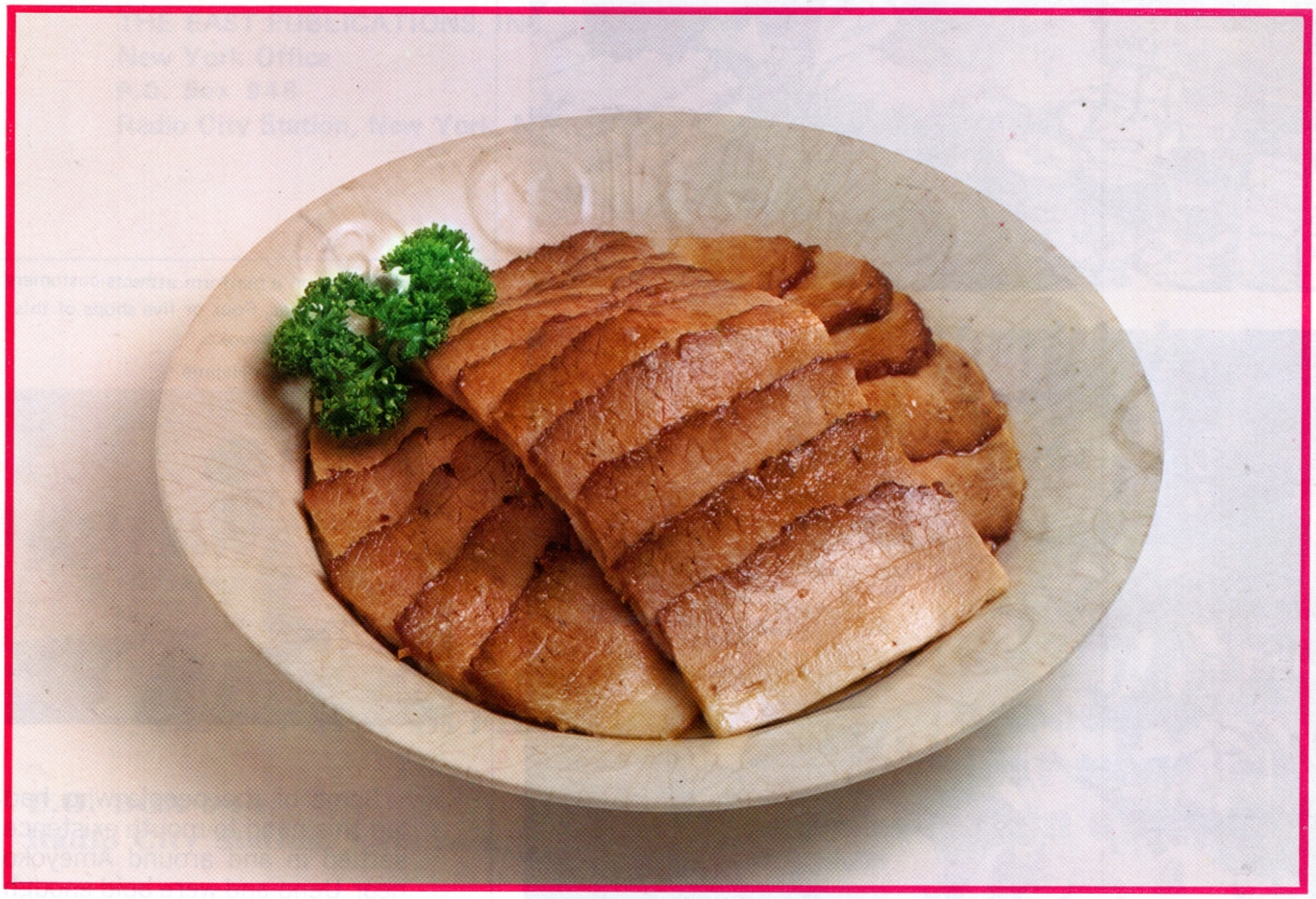
A clerk sitting on a platform attracts customers in a unique manner. Four or five shops of this kind are seen in Ameyoko.

Photographs by Suga Hajimé

Some of the people who had led this hand-to-mouth existence settled in and around Ameyoko near Ueno and were bold enough to begin to deal in foodstuffs by dodging the strict laws dealing with such matters. At that time many black market stalls sprang up not only in the Ameyoko area but everywhere else in the country as well. After the controls on foodstuffs were removed the black market stalls disappeared from everywhere except from Ameyoko, and that shopping area has enjoyed prosperity ever since. Now the shops in Ameyoko are, of course, no longer illegal.

The sight of Ameyoko today, crowded with customers looking for bargains, reminds those who knew the area at the end of the war of the black market which thrived there in those days.

# 双燒 Sliced Pork with Ginger



THIS IS not a true Japanese dish, as can be seen by its name, but since it goes so well with rice and noddles, it is seen quite often as an "everyday" dish in Japanese homes.

*Ingredients (Serves Four):*

1 pound loin of pork
2 tablespoons soy sauce
5 tablespoons salad oil
1 1/2 cup water
1/2 cup soy sauce
4 tablespoons sugar
2 tablespoons sake
1 piece of fresh ginger
1 piece green onion
1/2 tablespoon sasame oil

*To Prepare:*

1) Mix meat with 2 tbsp. of soy sauce.
2) Put the salad oil in a wok (Chinese cooking pan) or in a frying pan over a high flame for 1 minute, and add meat. Stir and fry until meat begins to brown lightly (about 2 minutes); remove from pan.
3) Wipe pan clean, return to medium-low flame. Put back meat with water, the 1/2 cup of soy sauce, sugar, saké, fresh ginger and green onion and cook for about 40 minutes, stirring occasionally, until meat is almost tender and most of the liquid absorbed.
4) Add sasame oil to meat and remove from pan, saving the juice. Slice meat thin as possible, add the juice to meat and serve.

*Note:* Be careful not to use too high a flame or the meat will get tough. If the flame is too low, the meat will fall into pieces.

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